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1866



# TAMMANY SOCIETY,

OR COLUMBIAN ORDER.



## CELEBRATION

OF THE NINETIETH ANNIVERSARY OF  
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

## TAMMANY HALL

WEDNESDAY, JULY 4, 1866.

NEW YORK:

THE NEW YORK PRINTING CO., 81, 83 & 85 CENTRE ST.

1866.



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Book .N6  
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CELEBRATION  
AT  
TAMMANY HALL,  
OF THE  
NINETIETH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE DECLARATION OF  
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE  
BY THE  
TAMMANY SOCIETY,  
OR COLUMBIAN ORDER,  
Wednesday, July 4th, 1866.

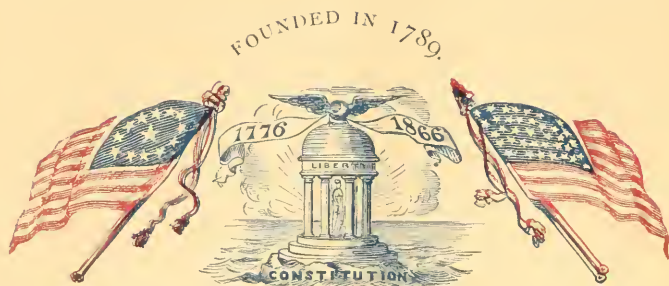
PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY.

NEW YORK :  
THE NEW YORK PRINTING COMPANY, 81, 83 & 85 CENTRE STREET.  
1866.





"THE UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED!"



# TAMMANY SOCIETY, OR COLUMBIAN ORDER.

TAMMANY HALL.

NEW YORK, JUNE 23, 1866.

THE TAMMANY SOCIETY, OR COLUMBIAN ORDER, cordially invites you to take part in its Celebration of the Anniversary of our National Independence, which it has never failed to honor since the foundation of the Society in 1789.

The conflict of arms has ceased; the Rebellion has been suppressed; but alas! the perfect Union bequeathed to us by our patriotic forefathers has not yet been restored. The authority of the Government has been vindicated; the Flag of the Union now floats triumphantly over every foot of National domain; but eleven sovereign States are still denied representation in the Federal Congress, and are not recognised as co-ordinate parts of the nation. The Union, which could not be divided by force, has been practically annulled by partisan politicians in Congress.

The exclusion of eleven States from participation in the Government is no less treasonable, morally, when effected by partisan votes, than when attempted by a rebellious resort to arms. During the recent Civil War, the Tammany Society sent its sons to fight for the Union, and with unswerving fidelity heartily supported the Federal Government in its struggle with sedition. Now that the war is ended, the South reformed and repentant, the treasonable spirit expelled from the land, and the Constitution preserved in its integrity from the assaults of the armies of the Rebellion, the Tammany Society turns with the same unwavering patriotism to resist, by its influence, its arguments, and whatever of political power it may possess, the efforts of partisanship to wrest from us that unity and prosperity which are the legitimate compensations for our sacrifices, and the natural fruits of our victories.

The Tammany Society, therefore, invites to her celebration all those who believe the Union was created to be perpetual; that the States are equal under the Constitution; that the restoration of the Union by the recent war ought to be acknowledged and recognised by all Departments of the Federal Government; that a spirit of fraternity and magnanimity should prevail in all our councils and our policy; and that the South, having accepted the lessons of the war and relinquished the heresies of secession, should be at once admitted to her constitutional representation.

Sachem JOHN KELLY.

" WILLIAM M. TWEED,  
" MATTHEW T. BRENNAN,  
" ISAAC BELL,  
" PETER B. SWEENEY,  
" EMANUEL B. HART,

Sachem CHARLES G. GORNELL,

" JAMES B. NICHOLSON,  
" WILLIAM McMURRAY,  
" NATHANIEL JARVIS, JR.,  
" JOHN J. BRADLEY,  
" DANIEL E. DELAVAN.

HENRY VANDEWATER, Treasurer.

GEORGE W. ROOME, Sagamore.

STEPHEN C. DURYEA, Wiskinski.

WILSON SMALL, Secretary.

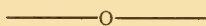
JOHN T. HOFFMAN, Grand Sachem.

JAMES WATSON, Scribe of the Council.

Please address your answer to JOHN T. HOFFMAN, City Hall, New York.

# TAMMANY SOCIETY.

## SEVENTY-EIGHTH CELEBRATION.



ON the Fourth day of July, 1866, the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, for the Seventy-Eighth time, solemnly commemorated the birthday of the Nation. The responses to the invitation issued by the Society, which is reproduced on the opposite page, sufficiently indicate, by their character and importance, that this was considered the chief celebration of the day throughout the country.

The following was the programme of the celebration :

# PROGRAMME

OF THE CELEBRATION BY THE

## TAMMANY SOCIETY

### OR COLUMBIAN ORDER,

OF THE NINETIETH  
Anniversary of our National Independence,  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 4th, 1866.

The members of the Tammany Society will meet at the Old Wigwam at half-past eleven o'clock. At twelve o'clock, the doors of the Grand Council Chamber will be thrown open, and the Sachems, Warriors and Chiefs will assemble on the grand platform in the Large Hall.

### The Tammany Regiment Band

Will perform National Airs until the commencement of the Exercises, which will be at one o'clock, P. M., precisely.

### ORDER OF EXERCISES :

OVERTURE—National Airs .....TAMMANY BAND.  
OPENING ADDRESS..Grand Sachem JOHN T. HOFFMAN.  
THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER—Sung by twenty-four boys from the Public  
Schools, under the direction of.....PROF. OLNEY.  
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, read by  
HON. EDWARD H. ANDERSON.  
“MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE,” and “THE BOYS COME MARCHING,”  
VOCAL BAND.  
ORIGINAL POEM—Written for the occasion, by...HENRY MORFORD.  
THE FUTURE OF COLUMBIA—Original Ode, by.....PROF. OLNEY.  
SELECTIONS from the correspondence of distinguished citizens, read by  
BROTHER ROBERT C. HUTCHINGS.  
ORATION, .....HON. RICHARD O'GORMAN.  
ADDRESSES.....By HON. S. S. COX,  
HON. EDWARDS PIERREPONT,  
And other distinguished Brothers and Guests.  
THE MARSEILLAISE,.....THE VOCAL BAND, accompanied by  
THE TAMMANY BAND.

### COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS :

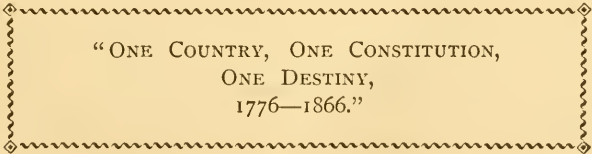
Sachem JOHN KELLY,  
“ WILLIAM M. TWEED,  
“ MATTHEW T. BRENNAN,  
“ ISAAC BELL,  
“ PETER B. SWEENEY,  
“ EMANUEL B. HART,

Sachem CHARLES G. CORNELL,  
“ JAMES B. NICHOLSON,  
“ WILLIAM McMURRAY,  
“ NATHANIEL JARVIS, JR.,  
“ JOHN J. BRADLEY,  
“ DANIEL E. DELAVAN.

The Old Hall, hallowed by so many noble memories, was fitly decorated. For this, the thanks of the Society are due to the Committee who had charge of this matter, and especially to Messrs. Nathaniel Jarvis, Jr., Andrew J. Garvey, James Watson, and James B. Nicholson, the Father of the Council. These gentlemen, with Mayor Hoffman and the other members of the Committee, organized a success. They took care that no detail was neglected, and exercised effectual supervision over every part of the celebration from first to last. The result was a national festival unsurpassed in the history of the country.

The doors of Tammany Hall were opened at noon, and the Tammany band performed patriotic airs from the balcony until one o'clock.

The platform was draped with the American flag. Above it was a bust of Washington, with the sacred motto:



“ONE COUNTRY, ONE CONSTITUTION,  
ONE DESTINY,  
1776—1866.”

At one side of the platform was the motto:

“THE TAMMANY SOCIETY, FOUNDED IN 1789.  
In its very foundation identified with the establishment  
of the Union. Ever faithful to its obligations,  
she has added another proof of her devo-  
tion by sending forth her sons to  
protect and maintain it.”

At the other side was the motto :

“THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY—  
Upon its union and success depend the future of the  
Republic. He who would seek to lower its  
standard of patriotism and principle, or to  
divide or distract its councils, is an  
enemy to the country.”

Busts of Jackson, Clay, Webster, and Franklin,  
ornamented the right side of the room, with the  
mottoes :

“The Union must and shall be preserved.”

“Eternal hostility to every form of tyranny.”

“Civil and Religious Liberty, the Rights of man.”

The coats-of-arms of the original thirteen States adorned the walls. A stanza from the "Flag of our Union" reminded the audience of the brotherhood of hearts and hands, as well as of States.

In a conspicuous position hung a solemn banner, embroidered with black and inscribed:

*To the Memory of the departed Braves:*

SHEPARD,	CONNER,
VOSBURG,	KENNEDY,
FROMENT,	CLANCY,
PURDY.	

The comments of the daily press on the appearance of the Hall and the character of the celebration will be found in an Appendix.

At one o'clock the officers and orators of the Society entered the Hall amid general applause. Mayor Hoffman and the Hon. Richard O'Gorman led the procession; and following them were Edwards Pierrepont, Samuel G. Courtney, Samuel S. Cox, August Belmont, John Kelly, Andrew H. Green, Samuel B. Garvin, Thomas W. Clerke, Andrew J. Garvey, Isaac Bell, M. T. Brennan, Robert C. Hutchings, Edward H. Anderson, Morgan Jones, James B. Nicholson, Peter B. Sweeny,

Richard B. Connolly, J. R. Brodhead, John J. Bradley, James M. Sweeny, Eli P. Norton, and others, all wearing the appropriate scarfs and badges of Old Tammany. The members of the Society, with their guests, having taken seats upon the platform, his Honor Mayor Hoffman, Grand Sachem, welcomed the assemblage by the following address :

#### ADDRESS OF GRAND SACHEM HOFFMAN.

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS—I welcome you heartily to this old wigwam, within which, for more than half a century, the Tammany Society has with unflinching regularity celebrated the anniversary of American independence. Its venerable walls bear the marks of time, and are blackened with the smoke of many a council-fire and many a conflict. In outward show it compares but poorly with the gilded temples of some more modern political associations ; but in its ancient and honorable record—its glorious past and its bright future—it outshines them all. (Applause.) During the years of fearful struggle through which the nation has just passed, while other places, more elegant and more fashionable, were the resort of those who assumed to themselves much of the patriotism and loyalty of the land, Old Tammany was thrown wide open as a recruiting-place for a class of patriots who were willing to fight, as well as to talk, for their country.

(Loud applause.) Brave men went forth from here who either died upon the battle-field or have returned, after an honorable discharge, to labor and to vote for the speedy restoration of that Union for the maintenance of which they hazarded their lives. Tammany Hall, true to its ancient record, never yielded to the demands of fanaticism or faltered in devotion to the Constitution (applause); and now that peace has come, it demands that with peace shall come "good-will to men."

It sustained the war, as waged for the preservation of the Union and the Constitution; and, having triumphed, it demands that neither the one nor the other shall be tampered with by politicians or fanatics, in Congress or out of it. (Applause.)

On this anniversary of the independence of the United States of America, it asserts, not as a theory, but as a fact, that the States are united; that they are equal under the Constitution; and that the avowed determination of a Radical Congress to refuse representation to eleven of them, is a gross assumption and abuse of political power, which deserves to be and will be rebuked by an intelligent people.

It demands, and will insist, before the country, that the people of those eleven States, having abandoned the heresy of secession, and submitted to the authority of the government, should have immediate representation in the persons of men who are true to the Constitution and the laws (applause); and that radical partisans shall not, for the sake of perpetuating their political power, keep asun-

der those States, for the eternal union of which hundreds of thousands of brave men have perished, and thousands of millions in treasure have been expended. ("Never." Cheers.)

In making these demands it is ready to start anew, in concert with conservative men everywhere, in a determined effort to overthrow those who, now that war is ended, will have no peace; and who, now that disunion is killed, will have no Union. (Cheers.)

William D. Kennedy went forth the leader of a Tammany regiment, and died its representative. Before he went he joined with us in placing in front of the Old Wigwam, Jackson's motto: "The Union, it must be preserved." Elijah F. Purdy, my immediate predecessor, in his proper sphere, did noble service in the good cause, and died on the last anniversary of that great battle which gave to Jackson immortality. (Applause.) One by one the old braves have passed by, but the younger warriors retain their spirit and will vindicate their memories. They choose this day to start anew upon the war-path, and will not bury the tomahawk until all enemies of the Union of the States, and of the rights of the States, shall be overthrown. (Cheers.)

The proprieties of the occasion, and the manifold exercises of the day, forbid a reference by me to great questions of national and State and local policy, which will at the proper time be discussed.

I again welcome you to the old wigwam. It may be the last time we shall assemble here. It is full of bright

memories of the past and great hopes of the future; but it must soon give place to a new and more commodious one, which, in the greatness of its proportions and the harmony of all its parts, will be emblematical of the Union of which it is the representative. (Cheers.) Let a voice go forth from here to-day which will be heard throughout the land. (Cheers.)

Twenty-four boys from the public schools, led by Professor Olney, sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." They were enthusiastically applauded.

The Hon. Edward H. Anderson next read the Declaration of Independence in an effective and impressive manner; nearly every sentence as it fell from the lips of the reader was received with applause.

"My Country, 'tis of Thee," was sung by the school-boys, led by Professor Olney.

Mr. Henry Morford then read, amid frequent and loud applause, the following original patriotic poem :

## AMERICA IN ENGLAND.

By HENRY MORFORD.

Last year when the guns of the Fourth thundered out,  
I was packing my trunk for a run o'er the waters,  
To see what the sons of John Bull were about,  
And to glance—yes, I own it—at some of his daughters !  
Last year, when the black poles still clung to the Hall,  
From which upward had flashed fiery rocket and streamer,  
I was watching the great waves rise, threaten and fall,  
From the stern of my flying and far-away steamer.

Last year, when the noise of the pistols yet rung,  
 In the ears that had heard them bang louder and louder,  
 I stood on the shore of our Old Mother Tongue,  
 Quite as saucy as any John Bull, and much prouder.

And what was I doing there—spying the land ?  
 Of course, and the good looks of places and people ;  
 And enjoying the *old*, where so massively stand  
 Gray monument, turret, and ivy-grown steeple.  
 But something besides I was bound to seek out ;  
 And I sought it, and found it, by word and by action ;  
 And when I *had* found it, there isn't a doubt  
 But I chuckled with terribly grim satisfaction.

What I wanted to know, was, how near to our blood  
 Was the blood of the land that once gave us existence ;  
 How many hard words, shouted over the flood,  
 Were caused by misstatement, and blunders and distance ;  
 How England looked on the big child that one day  
 Grew too strong for her hold and flew off like a rocket,  
 Because it disliked her particular way  
 Of sticking her fingers too deep in its pocket ;  
 What was Britain's true heart towards the Land of the West,  
 That even to please *her* refused to play second,  
 And fought its own fights in the way it liked best,  
 And by millions its patriot soldiery reckoned.

Well, England don't like us ; the story is brief,  
 And I read it ere tarrying long in her borders :  
 Not alone, as I found, from her personal grief  
 At our daring escape from her taxes and orders ;  
 Not alone from that jealousy old people show,  
 For the young, free from ills with which later years brand us ;  
 But simply because—don't you see—yes, you know—  
 Humph—the truth is—why, blarst it, *she can't understand us !*

It was Addison told us (an Englishman, he)  
 Long ago, in that genial and pleasant Spectator,  
 Of an instance he lately had happened to see,  
 Of the poultry-yard teaching our proud "human natur :"

Of the hen that had hatched out a dozen of ducks,  
That wouldn't be chickens for teaching or trimming,  
And how, thinking them drowning, most sad were her clucks  
Round the puddle in which her young rebels were swimming.

Well, Old England, I think, did as reckless a thing,  
When she hatched out this stalwart Colonial chicken  
That wouldn't stay under her step-mother wing,  
However the omens might threaten and thicken.  
Old England, I think, always opens her eyes,  
And clucks, as a feeble old grandmother ought to,  
When she sees, with a hen's very funny surprise,  
How her duckies *will* rush into very deep water.

"Why, God bless me!" the old woman says, and she sticks  
Her glasses on nose, to behold us the better—  
"That won't do, you know!—they will be all in a fix,  
If somebody don't cage 'em, or put 'em in fetter!  
*We* couldn't do *that*; and as England's the first  
And the last of the nations, the top and the bottom—  
Who differ from us always come to the worst  
And find ruin as sure as if Satan has got 'em!"

Yes, I say it once more; what for years upon years  
We have taken for England's peculiar ill-feeling,  
Has most of its spring in her ignorant fears  
Of that *New* that to us seems so loudly appealing.  
She *can't understand us*—I say it again:  
She can't understand us, without older glasses;  
And so, warped and crooked, to her muddled old brain  
Goes in every event that to history passes.

She brought Slavery here: then one day through her thick  
And most foggy old skull came the saucy: "I'll stop it!"  
She did; then at once over *us* she fell sick,  
And she said: "Why the deuce, you know, don't they *all* drop it?"  
Forgetting that hers was a West Indian *toe*,  
But that ours was in *heart* and in all the great members:  
That while *she* but an out-house in ruin laid low,  
*We* should risk laying all our fair mansion in embers!

So came Exeter Hall, with its muddle and fuss,  
 To stir up fanatics on both sides the ocean ;  
*She* had acted ; her act was the model for *us* ;  
 We must do it, or suffer from endless commotion.

Then one day we arranged for a snug little fight,  
 A fight all at home, so *our* business, no others' ;  
 Such a one, by the way, as had set *her* alight  
 More than once, when o'er roses men butchered their brothers !  
 Then the old lady's spectacles went to her nose :  
 " Why, God bless me ! those people are going to killing !  
 What do *they* know of science in coming to blows ?  
 They've no talent for fighting, if ever so willing !"  
 (Forgetting—but that is so easy to do !—  
 Saratoga and Yorktown, the Lundy's Lane story ;  
 And that Mexican march of the chieftain in blue  
 Who at West Point, last month, changed the sphere of his  
 glory !)

" Why, they're nothing but shopkeepers !" cried the old dame ;  
 They know nothing on earth but the chink of the dollar !  
 Their fields will be waste, and their cities in flame !  
 Some one ought to step in and take each by the collar !"  
 But the conflict grew hotter, and soon it appeared  
 To be dangerous work, getting 'tween the two hammers ;  
 And she only tried crippling the brother worst feared,  
 With Colonial laws and a few Alabamas.

Then, the great struggle closed ; it had closed, not much more,  
 When I stood on the soil of the good Queen's dominions,  
 To see what the aspect the White Island wore,  
 And to read what of *us* were its thoughts and opinions.  
 Do you know that the Englishmen couldn't believe  
 It had ended at all ! waited some late arrival  
 To hear the volcano again was in heave  
 And the giant rebellion in course of revival !  
 " Why, you don't think it's over ! You don't mean to say  
 They won't fight any more ! Why, that story won't *do*, you  
 know !  
 Hold Hingland, 'erself, couldn't do things that way,  
 Hand of course h'its impossible folly for *you*, you know !"

So the men with bobbed coats and tight trowsers would ask,  
With their clamshelly hats and their glasses on noses,  
And the setting them right was a bit of a task  
Much worse than a stay-at-home hearer supposes.

All this, ninety days after Lee had "owned up,"  
And the last rebel force melted out like a vision ;  
When the man who still held a Confederate hope,  
Over here, would have been quite too mad for derision.  
They believed, I am satisfied, we had been lured  
To security false—that some day, of a sudden,  
The mistake would be quickly and painfully cured  
By the ringing of swords on our occiputs wooden !  
That we still were as helpless and weak as a child  
Asleep on the marge of an incoming wave is ;  
That Washington's streets would with ruin run wild,  
And the White House still waited for Jefferson Davis !

I have not the least doubt that to-day, when one year  
And the half of another make croakers still muter,  
They are waiting the wonderful story to hear,  
Through the telegrams furnished by Mandeville Reuter ;  
That they still look to see some new arrogant rag  
Sailing into the Thames or the Mersey—the Master  
Of that thirteen-striped, numberless-starry old flag  
That war, enmity, wrong, only fill up the faster !

What we want sent to England, is what has just gone—  
A Monitor, like the staunch Miantonomah ;  
And a dozen of guns, with their throats of black brawn,  
That would stun a whole land into headache and coma.  
Something like what, one day *I* constructed, to save  
The national honor, from ready materials,  
And sent Whitworths and Armstrongs, on land and on wave,  
All "up in balloons," just to quote the aërials.

"Got any such cannon as *that* over there ?"  
Asked a juvenile Bull—"there's a gun worth admiring !  
There's thunder, I tell you, when that sweeps the air !"  
And an Armstrong he touched, not yet bursted with firing.

It had ten inches bore, and would really have been  
 Quite a gun, in the days of Napoleon and Nelson,  
 And a shot from it, giving it chance to get in,  
 Might have riddled a wooden ship, stern-post to keelson.

“ No—we don’t use such guns now-a-days, though we *did* ! ”

Was my very veracious, immaculate answer.

(How could I help owning what modesty hid,

And playing the natural rôle of romancer ? )

“ Those we use now-a-days—why, good heavens, my man !

You don’t call ten inches of calibre *much* hole ?

One of ours—yes, I think—yes, I’m sure, that we can

Slide this pop-gun of yours nicely into the touch-hole !

And for bore—when I tell you a man can walk in

To one of Grant’s siege-guns, and out, without trouble,

And that balls are wheeled in, when our battles begin,

On a cart, with a big pair of oxen, yoked double,

Why, then you may judge what Americans see

In the way of uptearing and ripping away things,

And what very small use there could possibly be,

Firing putty and spit-balls from one of these playthings ! ”

My John Bull was stunned—not much worse, I admit,

Than I sometimes astounded the dunce at the wicket,

When a train on some railway was ready to flit

And I tried, in a hurry, to get me a ticket ;

And when, after trying to beat through his skull

Place and class, till I found myself left, “ willy nilly,”

Through the hole his thin carcass I’ve threatened to pull

And pound till I’d made him the best calves’-head jelly !

But my John Bull was stunned. “ Why, good ’evings ! ” he cried,

“ You alarm me, you know ! ” I disclaimed the intention ;

But he rallied directly, and forcibly tried

The scope and the power of my new-born invention.

“ Well you haven’t no *navy* to speak of, you know !

See *our* CHANNEL Fleet”—but I “ put in,” at this juncture,

Unwilling his bladder much larger should blow

Without the relief of a delicate puncture.

“ Stop there, my good friend, and don't name the Black Prince,  
The Warrior, Northumberland, big Agamemnon,  
Or *one* of your national prodigies, since  
We have things that could squeeze them as flat as a lemon !

“ You have heard of the chains across rivers, in war ? ”  
“ Oh, yes ! ” “ Well, *our* chains, at each seaport, are founded  
Of Monitors stretching from bluff over bar,  
Till the whole port with ships is completely surrounded ;  
The ships bow to stern, fast together ; and each  
With those guns, that would blow your Black Princes to  
shivers ;  
While our ten-thousand-pounders line every beach,  
And we freight on torpedo-boats, down all our rivers ! ”

That man, if no more, if he laid this to heart,  
Understood what America was, from that moment ;  
But 'tis painful to say that the far greater part  
Yet remain in the dark and require “ note and comment.”  
And for many a year yet, th' American man,  
Fast and homelike, will startle John Bull, and surprise him,  
Very much on the bull-in-a-china-shop plan,  
When the keeper, in fright, through the top-window eyes him.  
Only little by little will John find us out,  
And discover the ties and the fancies that bind us,  
The comet-like force that so whirls us about,  
And how much and how far he is *living behind us* !

“ Don't wonder at all that you see, on our soil,”  
One day said an Englishman, thoughtful and travelled ;  
“ A few singular threads don't the whole fabric spoil,  
And their use will be shown when some day they're unravelled.  
*You* are race-horses ; *we* but plod on in a cart ;  
*You* are eagles ; we, barn-door fowls, useful, though grovel-  
ling ;  
*You* build and destroy things, with rash, sudden start ;  
*We* only do either with measure and shovelling.  
Which will longest endure, 'twere a problem to tell ;  
But one thing is most sure—'twere a terrible pity

If, the one language speaking, to fighting we fell  
 "And left ruins where once stood each capital city."  
 He was right ; and the words that he candidly used,  
 If my poem should need one, supplies it a moral :  
 Our ill-feelings most spring from a knowledge abused,  
 And there's little to gain by blows, sulking and quarrel.  
 We have enemies there, who know better ; but few ;  
 Goldwin Smiths and John Brights understand us and love us ;  
 Coming years will out-winnow the false and the true,  
 And stretch peace, with a full understanding, above us.

Have I wearied you, magnates of Tammany—full  
 Of a subject that seemed to require ventilation,  
 While to *you* it may but have seemed stupid and dull,  
 On a day set to foster the pride of the nation ?  
 But I beg to remind you, 'twas England whose grasp  
 We shook, ninety years since, from hand, pocket, and shoulder,  
 And that wisdom may lie in the book we unclasp—  
 Reading *how* we stand, each to each, ninety years older.  
 England's red cross is waving yet, powerful still ;  
 It will flap towards us in a pleasanter manner  
 When its subjects have learned the might, pleasure and will  
 Of the great people shadowed by yon dear old banner !

The following poem was prepared for this occasion :

## A PLEA FOR THE UNION.

*A Poem Dedicated to the Tammany Society, July 4th, 1866.*

By CHARLES F. OLNEY.

### I.

While the foes of Freedom tremble,  
 From old Spain to classic Greece,  
 And the hostile hosts assemble,  
 Blood the only road to peace ;  
 Brighter beams *our Constellation*  
 In the upper sea of blue,  
 Emblem of the *reborn* Nation,  
 Guardian of the brave and true.

II.

One by one those Stars, so cherished,  
Took their place with sister gems ;  
Not a single light has perished,  
Matchless queen of diadems !  
*Thirty-six*, in pristine beauty  
Beam upon us here to-day,  
Each a pledge for Union duty ;  
Each from Freedom's Sun a ray !

III.

Banner—Beacon of the Nations,  
Tyrants view thy Stripes, and fear !  
Thou shalt light earth's generations  
Spreading gladness far and near.  
O'er our cities, towns, and mountains,  
Like the flowers 'neath tropic's sun,  
*Thou* dost blossom ! While the fountains,  
Dancing to the Union, run.

IV.

Yes, Columbia's mighty chorus  
Swells to-day from sea to sea !  
Angel hosts are smiling o'er us,  
From the realms of liberty.  
Bells their joyous strains are pealing,  
Cannon thunder notes of cheer ;  
Peace the wounds of war is healing,  
Love and faith again appear.

V.

While the Nation's heart rejoices,  
Listen ! Borne on fragrant breeze  
Comes far-wafted Union voices,  
Pleading for their liberties.  
Low and sweet their hymn is stealing !  
*Freedom's fire* each bosom thrills !  
Humbly at the *Fount* they're kneeling,  
Heaven, the prayer of faith fulfils.

*Tammany Society,*

## VI.

“ From Thy throne, oh ! bounteous Giver,  
 Hear us on our Natal Day !  
 Wilt Thou not our land deliver  
 While Thy children homage pay ?  
 We unnumbered ills have tasted,  
 And in grief now, vanquished, mourn,  
 Sorrow for the dear lives wasted  
 ’ Neath that Flag so proudly borne !

## VII.

“ War, with pen of flame, has written  
 On our cities his decree !  
 Shall we *still* by him be smitten ?  
*Crushed to earth by tyranny ?*  
 We are prostrate, helpless, weary ;  
 Father, melt yon hearts of stone !  
 Turn not from our miserere !  
 Make us as a Nation one !

## VIII.

“ Jesus : bade us ‘ Love thy Brother !’  
 Bar they now Columbia’s door ?  
 Would they say : ‘ Your Union mother  
 Spurns the child she fondly bore ?’  
 Long we loved the dear old Union,  
 (True in folly *far* we strayed,)  
 Seek we now for peace communion  
 Where war’s ills will ne’er invade !

## IX.

“ Rights of Freemen, once so cherished,  
 Pray, in mercy now restore !  
*Homes deserted, dear ones perished,*  
 CAN THE NORTH STILL ASK FOR MORE ?  
 Bid them view the desolation  
 Of our cities, valleys, plains !  
*Spurned unworthy of a Nation ?*  
 Why these cruel Northern chains ?

X.

“ Would they smite us in our sadness ?  
Are they thirsting *yet* for strife ?  
Would they torture us to madness ?  
Have they sworn to take e'en life ?  
Would they silence by *proscription* ?  
Blot from map each erring State ?  
O'er each grave write this inscription :  
*'Victims of undying hate ?'*

XI.

“ Do the North claim *sole* possession  
Of those beauteous Union Stars,  
Snatched from Heaven, when foul oppression  
Was the proud ally of Mars ?  
Would they rob us of the story  
Of a common Union fight,  
When we, on the field of glory,  
In the cause of God and Right.

XII.

“ Hushed with them the empty roaring  
Of the lion 'cross the main,  
While the eagle upward soaring,  
Bore to Heaven the names of slain !  
Dear to us that bright creation,  
Born 'mid blood and battle flame,  
Flag of Freedom's dedication,  
Destined for immortal fame !

XIII.

“ *Shall* Heaven's love, a golden river,  
Soon our native land restore ?  
*North and South from foes deliver ?  
Give us peace for evermore ?*  
By the blood of Revolution,  
By the Emblem of the Free,  
By the glorious Constitution  
By the fires of Liberty—

*Tammany Society.*

## XIV.

" Pledge we, till the Nations perish,  
 Till the ills of mortals cease,  
 E'er the Union cause to cherish,  
 E'er to hear the whisper ' Peace !'  
 Then, as Jesus opes the portals  
 Of those mansions in the skies,  
 North and South as glad immortals,  
 Saved by love of God shall rise."

\* \* \* \* \*

## XV.

*Welcome ! Welcome !* Southern brother !  
 Open wide we throw the door !  
 Will our Heaven-born Union mother  
 E'er forsake the child she bore ?  
 Let the sun refuse the morning ;  
 Let the moon ne'er deck the night ;  
 Let the seasons cease their warning ;  
 Let the Nations spurn the right ;

## XVI.

But, though earth and Heaven were shaking  
 With the strife of Freedom's foes,  
 Though the million's hearts were quaking  
 In the depths of battle woes,  
 Brave Columbia, 'mid the thunder,  
 Rescues every patriot son,  
 Drives Disunion hosts asunder  
*Though intrenched at Washington.*

## XVII.

Fairest flower among the Nations !  
 Thou shalt rise in majesty,  
 Bearing Freedom's declarations  
 To the great futurity.  
*Enemies* may sound reveille ;  
 Pulpits hurl 'gainst thee their hate,  
 Doomed be they who e'er assail ye !  
 Nameless graves for such shall wait !

The Hon. Robert C. Hutchings, Assistant District-Attorney, then read selections from letters from the President of the United States, Members of the Cabinet, and other distinguished friends of Tammany. These letters, which were received with enthusiasm, will be found at the close of the proceedings.

The Hon. Richard O'Gorman, the orator of the day, was then introduced by Grand Sachem Hoffman, amid a tempest of applause.

#### MR. O'GORMAN'S ORATION.

*Grand Sachem, Sachems and Brethren of the Eagle Tribe:*

The season of fruits is come again. Winter and spring have passed, and the glorious summer sun pours its flood of light and heat again over all this bounteous land. In the North and the South, in the East and the West, over mountain and plain and city, over poor and rich, over all the tribes of this great family, this life-giving blessing is showered with kindly hand. Compassionate of the evils we inflict on one another, the Great Spirit sheds with equal tenderness His mercies on us all. Long years have rolled by since the great Sachem whose name you bear walked this earth. "Tammenund of many days" was then, as the legends tell us, a chief brave in battle, in the council wise and merciful.

Jealous of his power and goodness, the Evil Spirit arrayed against him the malignant forces of nature. The poisonous malaria and the poisonous reptile of the swamp assailed him. The mammoth monsters of the elder world flung their huge bulk against him. Torrents foamed across his path. Great inundations encompassed him around—yet he lived !

At last came the hardest ordeal of all. The hearts of the tribes were turned against him, and brethren slew brethren in civil war.

Tammenund was victorious, and his vanquished enemies lay bound and helpless at his feet.

Then, while silent and despairing, they awaited their doom, he turned on them a face of pity, and loosed their bonds, and in a gentle and tearful voice, as of a father, more in sorrow than anger, reproving a wayward child, he said to them : “ Arise, and go your ways ; you have erred ; you have suffered ; we are children of the same great Father ; we are brethren once more. Go to your desolate wigwams and wasted fields ; go, repent and amend. Remember that while the arm of Tammenund is strong, his heart is merciful ; he has conquered, he conquers but to save.” Thus having vanquished his enemies, he lived many days, a benefactor to his race and kind ; and when he died, the “ tears of good men dropped like the gentle rain from heaven upon his grave.” So runs the Indian legend. It may be true. The race of Tammenund has passed away ; where clustered their

wigwams great cities now stand, and among all the millions that eat the fruits of the broad continent which was once the red man's hunting-ground, one society alone in its name and ceremonies does honor to the forgotten warrior and sage of the Thirteen Tribes.

The legend is not without its moral. The red man has been supplanted by the white man ; and against the white man, too, the malignant forces of nature have warred. By him, too, the pestilent swamp, the wilderness, the forest, the torrent have been subdued. He has ransacked the secrets of the earth and sea, and by the potent magic of science, skill, and labor, compelled the very forces that combined against him to do his bidding ; till in a space of time that in the book of history is scarce a page, this continent, so lately rude and desert, blossomed like the rose ; till in all the earth there was no land so free, so prosperous so happy, so hopeful as ours. All this it was, till the Evil Spirit sowed among us, too, the seeds of discord, lit the fatal fires of faction, let loose the demon of civil war to work havoc and desolation where peace and prosperity had made almost an Eden on earth. And now the war is over. The victory is won. The vanquished, disarmed and helpless, stand before us. Never was victory more unquestionable, unquestioned, and complete. Is there no lesson for us in the Indian legend I have told you ? Shall we white men be less merciful than the Indian whose home we inherit ? Shall we, Christian men, be more revengeful towards our brothers in sin than

was the Pagan savage? Shall we, who boast of civilization, and progress, and knowledge, fail to reach that noble sagacity of statesmanship which deems war fruitless and victory incomplete, until the enemy, conquered as well by clemency and magnanimity as by arms, is converted into a friend?

This day, citizens, you set apart as the political festival of all the year. You do well. It should be a holy and happy day. Never, while this Republic lives, should its citizens fail, when this anniversary comes round, to celebrate it with pomp and rejoicing; to awaken the memories of its early perils; to ascend, as it were, the stream of its history back to its first source—to that dark and doubtful hour, ninety years ago, when the thirteen colonies, uniting in one solemn purpose, set before mankind that calm statement of their grievances which you have read to-day, broke the tie which bound them to the Government which did them wrong, and, appealing to Heaven and the future, declared themselves to be thenceforth thirteen equal and independent States; and in defence of their rights as such free and independent States, pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors. You know how well and bravely that pledge was kept. Thus was born the new confederacy of States, then and now called “the United States.”

Think, citizens, what it was then, and what it is now.

This ancient society has honored me with its invitation to speak to you to-day.

I scarce know in what tone it is fitting to address you. Fourth of July orations have a doubtful reputation.

It seems to be the custom for orators on this day to utter only such words as shall be pleasant to hear—to congratulate, to flatter, to applaud—and Heaven knows there is for us ample subject of congratulation; and he need never flatter, who desires to praise to its desert the brave, generous American people. We have much cause to be thankful; the war-drum rolls no longer, the sword is sheathed, the battle-flags are furled.

The corn is waving over the graves where sleeps in peace, side by side, the victor and the vanquished in the terrible conflict which has been and never again can be.

That awful trial, in which armies were the advocates, and the argument shot and shell, the bayonet and the rifle, is over. Judgment, unappealable and irreversible, has been given. It is decreed that no State of the United States can secede, can leave the Union, can cease to be one of the United States without the consent of all. Judgment unappealable and irreversible has been given. It is decreed that the relation between capital and labor, which prevailed in certain of the States, called slavery, shall exist no more. These two questions that have disturbed society, need disturb it no longer; they are of the past. There let them be buried. For all this, we owe our thanks to that Providence in whose hands are the destinies of nations; and, under Providence, to the

gallant men who, on land or sea, with steadfast hearts fought the great quarrel out.

Why should I waste words in telling you of this? Your own hearts cannot fail to be sensible of it. And why should I keep back the graver and sadder thoughts that struggle for utterance; or now, because it is the Fourth of July, break the resolution I formed long ago, to speak to the people whenever they cared to hear me, the thought that lay nearest to my heart—to be always candid, frank and open with them; to speak the truth, or not to speak to them at all.

Citizens, I warn you that the Republic is still in danger. The worst of the storm has blown over. The ship still rides, a proud and gallant sight. She has escaped, more by God's providence than by good steering, the Scylla of secession; she is drifting, drifting slowly but surely, into the Charybdis of centralization. Can her course be changed? Is there time still to put her head about, and escape the danger? God knows; it depends on Him and the people.

Have you even thought what centralization really means, and what are its inevitable tendencies? Cast your memory back to the state of political affairs ten or twelve years ago. Then, we in New York scarcely felt the finger of the Federal Government. It carried our letters, and collected certain import duties to an amount necessary to meet the current expenses of that Government, and they were trifling. But for all other purposes

of government, the law of the State of New York was sufficient, paramount, and supreme. Now all this is changed. The finger of the Federal Government now is stronger than the arm of the State. We are getting what is called a strong Government. We have now let loose on us a cloud of assessors, collectors of taxes, Federal officials of all sorts, prying into every man's transactions, questioning, spying, informing, gathering up a large proportion of the fruit of our labors, and pouring it into the central reservoir at Washington, from which it flows and percolates in corrupting streams from end to end of the land ; and countless officials, great and small, with faces ever reverently turned towards Washington, as the Moslems turn towards Mecca, lap up the intoxicating tide and cry for more.

Our artisans work hard and earn good wages, but somehow they can't live as well as of old. Wages are high, but necessities of life are higher. What's the cause of this ? It is because in order to satisfy a few worthy millionaires in Massachusetts or Pennsylvania, to protect them, to increase their profits, the cheap supply of all sorts of commodities which foreign nations are eager to sell us, is, as far as possible, shut out by excessive import duties. Thus the manufacturer is protected ; the manufacturer becomes rich, the consumer becomes poor. Thus labor is sacrificed to wealth ; the many are sacrificed to the few ; the people that pay taxes are sacrificed to those who receive taxes. This is bad ; but bad as it is, worse

remains behind ; for this very money, wrung from the sweat of labor, is used to fortify and perpetuate the very system which oppresses labor ; this money, when paid, flows also to Washington, to be wasted or turned to mischief and corruption as before. Federal patronage overflows the land. Who can wonder now that at every political assembly, some one, somehow fattened on Federal diet, with that sublime loyalty which men commonly exhibit towards the party whose pay they receive, in that vivid style of oratory which, all over the world, the pensioned patriot most affects, denounces all dissent, all remonstrance, all opposition to the powers that be, as treasonable, seditious, and disloyal. With such command of money, with such a hungry horde of loyal adherents to receive it and fight on their side, can you wonder that the five or six unscrupulous men who rule the Committees at Washington which now caricatures the Congress of the United States, grow more daring and more reckless, more secret and sudden in their action, more secure in the continuance of their power ?

See how gradually, silently, surely, the influence of this political aristocracy, like the serpent gathering fold upon fold, encompasses the Republic about, and chokes it in its tightening embrace.

To think, speak, act as this oligarchy ordain, is to be loyal. To be loyal is to share in the patronage they can bestow. Who would not be loyal, when to be loyal is to be rich ? Thus you see how power—the power of the

purse as well as of the sword—a power that appeals to all men's hopes, and all men's fears—concentrates in Washington, and gathers to a head. Thus, the fatal conspiracy of the few against the many grows and strengthens apace—corrupting, debauching the minds of our people. Under its baleful influence, the rich grow richer, and the poor grow poorer, and the fatal quarrel between capital and labor, which in older countries from time to time shakes all society, here begins to mutter and to threaten. Why should the peasant of Ohio, or the artisan of New York grow poor, that the manufacturers and speculators of New England and Pennsylvania should grow rich? Is this your idea of a republic? It is not mine.

I have spoken of the mischievous change in the theory and practice of our Government here in the States which have been victorious in the late civil war. See how it works among that portion of the people on whom fell the weight of defeat.

It is more than a year since the war ended—more than a year since all resistance to the Federal arms ceased—more than a year since the defeated people recognised and accepted the conclusions to which they had been forced—that no State could of right, or did in fact, cease to be in the Union; that the Southern States were always in the Union, could not take themselves out of the Union, and yet these States have been for more than twelve months denied by this oligarchy all the constitutional rights of States to be heard by their Represen-

tatives in the great council of the Republic. All obligations to the Union they are held liable to perform.

They must obey the Federal Constitution and laws, and pay the Federal taxes, yet the rights of representation in the Federal Council, which the Constitution secures to all, are denied to them. They are treated, not as States of the Union, but as a foreign conquered people, whose lives, liberties, laws and property are held at the will of the conqueror. Is this constitutional? Is it lawful? Is it just? Is it expedient? Is it in accordance with the will of the American people?

Remember the grievances against which the old colonists protested as sufficient ground for their revolt—*taxation without representation!* This was the chief ground—the most flagrant violation of the principles of British law and eternal justice.

They laid it down that a tax is, in its nature, a voluntary aid from the people to the Government, and could not be imposed without the consent of the people through their representatives, legally chosen.

The violation of this principle they considered an outrage worth fighting against. And yet we, the inheritors of their quarrel, of their principles and their triumph—we who read their Declaration of Independence and applaud it—we Americans inflict on Americans the self-same wrong.

I say “we;” for is not this still a Government of the people? Are not these half-dozen potentates at Wash-

ington, by whose decrees these outrages are inflicted, the creatures of the people, and bound to do their will?

Citizens, the people's liberties can never suffer. Their rights can never be betrayed but by the default of the people themselves. It is by their want of vigilance, by their misplaced confidence in parties and men, by their apathy and torpor, that their ruin is wrought.

Oh, for some master voice to rouse society from its stupor—to stir it into thought—as did the angel of old stir the stagnant pool that the blind and paralyzed might be cured and invigorated!

Let but the people speak; their voice will roll like thunder over all the land. Who shall say them nay?

Let but the people wake, and these enemies of the Republic will be scattered as the dew-drops of the night the lion shakes from his mane.

I hear it said that the Southern people are not loyal, and guarantees are needed from them.

Loyal to what? To the Constitution? It is for the Constitution they ask.

Where else but in the Constitution can they find any hope? They ask for its protection as well as its obligations. That it shall not be only a sword to smite them, but a shield by which they may be defended.

Their conduct for the last twelve months proves that they have abandoned, in good faith abandoned, the theory of secession.

They pray for "Union," and Union is denied them.

How long is this to last?

What was this civil war for? Listen.

On July 26, 1861, a resolution was offered in Congress in which I find this declaration:

"Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion and resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; this war is not prosecuted on our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and all laws made in pursuance thereof, and to preserve the Union with all its dignity, entirety, and rights of the several States unimpaired.

"That as soon as this is accomplished, this war ought to cease."

Passed, 30 to 5.

This resolution was proposed by Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, and adopted.

That was the deliberate, solemn declaration of the North.

It was for that, to save, restore, preserve the Union, it fought. For this purpose and no other, its young men left the plough and the bench, and took up arms. For this they suffered and died.

Through all their long days of toil and danger this was the prize they sought to win. They gained it.

They conquered it. They returned to their homes, rejoicing that the Union their fathers bequeathed to them had been by their strong arms preserved.

And now they find they but grasped a shadow. The reality is snatched from them. The Union is not saved. The Union is not preserved. The Union is prevented and delayed lest its restoration may thwart the plans, or cross the speculations of the honorable gentlemen in Congress, to whom civil war and disunion have been the source of profit and power they could not otherwise attain to.

They need guarantees. Guarantees for what? That the South will henceforth be loyal and obedient to the Constitution, and the laws that accord therewith.

What better guarantees can you have than they have given you, and still give?

Is not their defeat complete and admitted, crushing as it is—is not this a guarantee that they will never again take arms against the omnipotent will which has ordained that secession is impossible, and the Union shall never be dissolved?

Are not their ruined cities, their wasted fields, their desolate hearths, the graves of their dead—father, son, brother, husband—the graves of their loved ones, on which Nature, higher, mightier, kindlier than man's laws, will shed the silent tear? Have we no guarantee in this, that these men are Americans, our own brothers—defeated, but not yet humiliated, too proud to be false?

Ask our soldiers—the men who stood face to face with them in many a hot and bloody fight—who met them under flag of truce, who met them on the lonely picket, where kindred, ignoring the articles of war, made them for a while companions and friends. Ask the Generals who commanded our victorious hosts—ask them if they would not trust the word of those whom they had seen so gallantly defending a theory with their lives.

Ask Grant if he does not trust Lee.

Take the vote of the whole Army and Navy—the men who fought, not the men who talked; ask them if they trust the loyalty of the men they fought, vanquished, and forgave; and, my life for it, from end to end of that glorious column of heroes will ring out the answer, “Aye, aye.”

Would to God it had been left to them—to the men who fought the quarrel out—to settle it, and I believe the “Union” would be whole to-day.

But the Union must be saved.

It cannot be prevented.

It cannot be retarded.

There is Union in the hearts of the people—North, South, East, and West.

They long for reconciliation. They desire the society of one another—trade and commerce with one another.

It cannot be that they will much longer submit to the tricks, stratagems, and manœuvres of faction, that to enrich itself and retain power, would open, irritate, and

in flame the wounds of civil war, that only need time and peace to heal and be forgotten. For remember, time is running by—opportunities unused never return.

Still the people of the South trust the people of the North and West.

They still hope in their generosity, still hope in their just second thought—their calm common sense.

Let not reconciliation—true, real reconciliation—be delayed until that confidence is gone and replaced by the sullen submission of disappointment and despair.

I, too, trust in the people. They are often abused and misled; lied to by factious men and for factious ends. But it is by playing on their noble instincts and generous impulses they are betrayed.

Misled by Fancy's meteor ray  
By passion driven,  
But still the light that led astray  
Was light from Heaven.

Tell them but the truth, lay bare the deceit, show them that they are made the unconscious instruments of wrong, and they will be as quick to resent the treachery as to undo the mischief it has caused.

Citizens of New York, I don't speak now to Democrats alone, or to Republicans.

Many of the issues which divided us are settled and need not divide us more.

I speak to you now on a subject whereon we all must agree.

Citizens of New York, you are generous and charitable.

Never men had more than you "a tear for pity and a hand open as day to melting charity."

You are eager to relieve want and alleviate human misery all over the earth.

Do you know, do you realize the fact that men and women, Americans, of the same language, faith, color, as yourselves, your fellow-citizens in South Carolina, one of your sister States, are starving, dying for want of food?

Will you not help them, too?

You can help them. They don't ask money.

All they ask for is justice—justice tempered with mercy.

Give them that; they need no more help.

Confidence will be restored. Capital will flow thither. The reck and ruin of war will be repaired, and they will soon add to the wealth of the Republic, instead of shamming it with their misery.

It can never be well with New York while it is ill with South Carolina or Tennessee.

This alone is Union; Union not in form and name alone, but in substance and reality, that no wrong can be inflicted on any State, or any city, or any man, from Maine to Florida, without all the States, all cities, all men feeling the hurt and desiring to apply a remedy.

This is real Union; all for each, and each for all.

Citizens, don't look at this from the low level of faction.

"Sursum corda." Ascend the higher eminence from which the wider and grander prospect may be obtained.

There is danger for New York when the rights of Tennessee are invaded.

For by the same wrong by which Tennessee is excluded from representation, your own State may suffer if the exigencies of faction require that crime.

During the civil war that is past, many things were submitted to for which the alleged necessities of war were the only excuse.

We saw the Constitution violated and the civil law set aside.

We bore it for the sake of the Union, which we thought by such a sacrifice could be preserved.

But now the war is over. The violations of the Constitution and the law continue, and the Union is not restored.

Citizens, beware!

The Republic is in danger! The historic danger of Republics!

The Government has fallen from the hands of the many into the hands of the few.

From the many who are apathetic, to the few who are energetic and bold.

The respect for the Constitution is fading out of men's hearts, and when that dies the Republic is lost indeed.

For paper Constitutions, Declarations of Independence, laws, are but paper—worthless, lifeless ; mere delusions, mockeries and snares when they cease to express the instincts and longings of a free people.

The concentration of power will go on, till men, weary and sick of the worst of all bad governments, an irresponsible oligarchy, will go one step further and “fly from petty tyrants to the throne.”

Do you ever think, citizens, wherein the greatness of your Republic—this great Republic of Republics—really resides ?

In its wealth, trade, manufactures ?

Not so. There are nations in the Old World richer, with larger commerce than ours.

In its broad lands, its almost illimitable domain ?

No ; Russia has millions of fertile acres to which no emigrant turns his steps—thousands day after day, arrive on our shores.

Is it in our schools, churches, palaces ?

In all these things, there are other countries by which we are equalled or excelled.

I'll tell you where, and where alone, its greatness lies—the secret of its vitality, strength, hope, and endurance.

It is in its freedom.

In this, that it has been and will be, if it so please God and the people, a free Democratic Republic.

Better be shorn of its wealth ; better it had never

gained one rood of ground more than the thirteen original States ; better it never manufactured a pound of cotton or a bar of iron ; better we had no millionaires, no banks, no parks, no palaces ; better now lose them all than lose that without which these things never could have been our heritage of freedom—our Constitution, our Democratic Republic.

With this, all things are possible. Without this, progress is progress toward ruin ; and even the highest developments of wealth and civilization are but the unhealthy flush of premature decay.

How can we stop ? How halt on the road to ruin ?

Where can we find a guide ?

Retrace your steps. Take the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence for your guides, and you will still be safe.

These are your guides ; follow them.

To us Democrats the path is easy and the guide familiar, for the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence have always been the principles of the Democratic party.

To these principles the Democracy, if it be true to itself, must always be true.

In this the Democratic party differs from other parties.

It always goes wrong when it swerves from its principles.

Other parties never go right unless when they abandon theirs.

What are these principles ?

That that government is the best that governs the least.

The States and men thrive best, develop best what force is in them when least checked, cramped, confined by legislation.

That the States are equal, sovereign, and as such, each of them has rights as inalienable as those of the Union, which was founded by their consent ; rights which cannot be forfeited, and which it is revolution to deny or assail.

The Constitution is a delicate machine.

In the hands of those who understand its secret, and were educated to respect it, it works kindly and well.

Played upon by other and ruder hands, turned to purposes foreign from the principles of its existence, prostituted to base ends, the subtle mechanism breaks ; for it is a thing too noble to be made the instrument of wrong.

I am not speaking now in the interest of any party. It is an hour when even the highest level of party is too low for the crisis.

True, I am a Democrat. But it is because I see in the principles of that party the true creed of the Republic.

These principles never die.

They will live, and will still save the Union ; and to all men who are true and loyal to these principles we hold out a friendly hand.

Let bygones be bygones.

We are content to forgive much, to forget much ; if by forgetting and forgiving the Union can be saved.

It shall be saved. It is the will of the people ; and woe to them that dare gainsay it.

To create the Union was a great achievement, and honor and gratitude will forever crown the names of the good and great men by whom it was accomplished. But more honor, more gratitude, more enduring love will bless the man or the men in our day by whom the Union shall be saved.

God save the Union—save it from the errors of those who are dishonest, and the machinations of those that are not so ; and help us as He helped the true men of old, to save what they created—the United States—the great Republic of Republics, in whose cause we too “pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.”

Loud and continued applause followed the address of Mr. O’Gorman, who, having retired, was followed by the Hon. S. S. Cox of Ohio. Having been introduced by Mayor Hoffman, Mr. Cox came forward and spoke substantially as follows :

#### ADDRESS OF THE HON. S. S. COX.

There are two reasons why I will not detain you long. First, the day is oppressively hot ; and secondly, I did

not know till I came to your hall that my name was on your programme. I came to listen to the utterances of the golden-lipped orator who has just spoken. One idea which he hinted, I will take the liberty of expanding. It was suggested, rather by what he suppressed than by what he expressed. The Declaration of Independence is a revolutionary document. It sounded the tocsin of revolt. It was the trumpet of sedition. It is an anachronism to date American liberties from the Fourth of July, 1776. Our liberties have no date. They are from God. We never lost our liberties. They have no beginning in this country. When our ancestors signed and proclaimed the Declaration of Independence, they associated with their English privileges and liberties the rights of human nature. When England strove by force and parliamentary chicanery to rob us of our liberties, we struck for—independence! We never lost our liberties. Far back beyond the era of Bills of Right, Apologies and Petitions of the Commons of England—far back of the Magna Charta of English freedom—reposed in eternal might, the rights and privileges of human nature, which our ancestors vindicated. In the Roman civil law, and even anterior to that, the civil rights of man were guarded by civil authority, in written and unwritten constitutions. These rights were brought to this land with our charters, and when England strove to despoil them, we struck back for independence, and by the aid of Heaven we won our independence and saved our liberties. [Cheers.] These

liberties were enshrined in the Constitution. I love it more than the Declaration; as I love repose and order more than passion and revolt. To me, especially since our civil war, the 17th of September is a day marked with a whiter stone in the Calendar than the 4th of July. It is the day of all our years the best. In the Constitution we find the consummate flower of our freedom. In saying this, I do not disparage the Declaration of Independence. It recites, in immortal phrase, the grievances of the American colonies. Among them was the wrong of trying men for crimes unknown to the law, and by juries and tribunals distant from the vicinage of the accused; the abolition of habeas corpus and the destruction of the muniments of personal freedom; the destruction of trade by illegal and extraordinary exactions, hardly equalled by the infamous tariffs and taxes of to-day; and as a climax of injury and iniquity, these exactions were levied without the consent of the people taxed, and without representation of the taxed people in the taxing Parliament. These wrongs have in part been suffered by this people during our civil war, and in fact are being endured now. But during the four years of our civil war there was ever found a body of men in the Democratic party, in and out of Congress, who never failed to protest with vehemence and amidst obloquy—against this obscuration of liberty by irresponsible power! [Cheers.] That these rights—demanded by the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Constitution—have

been restored since the war, we owe to the courage,<sup>1</sup> justice and patriotism of Andrew Johnson. [Cheers.] The attempt of those who gave too fatal a direction to our civil war, who strove to enthrall the people, has been foiled, thanks to Divine Providence and our Chief Executive. [Cheers.] So significant has been the action of the Democratic party—as illustrated by the men of Tammany—that to-day we have read here an epistle from the Premier of the last Administration, laying at your feet his chaplet of honor! [Laughter and cheers.] Mr. Seward cannot refrain from recognising the sterling patriotism of Tammany Hall, which is the patriotism of the Northern Democracy, and which, while protesting against the abuses of power, never wavered in its defence, by the blood of her sons, of the Constitutional Union which our fathers made. [Cheers.] But I meant only to speak to you to one practical point. My eloquent friend, Mr. O'Gorman, has said that the Republic is not yet saved. The fearful war-cloud has passed away; but he has truly said there is danger still. That danger comes the same quarter whence our civil war came. This danger comes from the blotting out of eleven stars on our banner—the obliteration of eleven States from the Federal Union. Let me illustrate the imminency of this danger. Suppose that in 1868, these States—living, breathing entities—vote for President and Vice-President. Their electors meet; their votes are cast in the college, in unison with a sufficient number of Northern States to elect a Democratic President. Suppose

that election reinstates the policy, the honor, the unsectional patriotism of the Democracy in the National Government, and that vote is borne to Washington during the winter of 1868-9. The joint session of Senate and House meets to count the votes. Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana and the other eight States, representing ten millions of people and 725,955 square miles,—held by the Radicals to be dead by suicide and secession, are called. They are called to be counted. Their voice elects the President. Their vote is objected to because they are not suffragans in the Electoral College! It is then contended that they are not merely sleeping—not in abeyance, but absolutely out of the Union, and their voice only the whine of an abject conquered people—not the voice of equal States with all their dignity and independence unimpaired. What then? Is there any tribunal to decide this momentous question? I say: *None! none!* In 1856, when Wisconsin was called, and her vote for Mr. Buchanan was found to have been cast on a day not legally appointed—(in consequence of high waters)—the question was pretermitted. It was held that the joint convention had the power only of—arithmetic; no judicial function, no authority to judge as to the validity of the vote. So it remains yet. When the eleven States now under radical ban shall be called—who will decide as to their right to vote? As surely as 1868 shall come, there will come dissension, embroiling and war. Unless this matter is averted by timely, moderate and judicious

statesmanship, there will come war—civil war; not merely a war of sections, an international war, but a war of communities, more terrible than the mind can conceive; far more atrocious in its results than the war just ended. God help us then, if Andrew Johnson fail us! But he will not fail in that conflict! [Cheers.] Let us avert these terrible calamities. How? I would strike hands with any man or set of men who will help give to the eleven disfranchised States, now under the ban-sinister of the Radical fragment of a Congress, their proper constitutional position and legislative representation. [Cheers.] To this end, let us aid the President. [Cheers.] Let us make the Philadelphia Convention a success. He is anxious for it. It will illustrate the possibility of men of patriotic sentiments meeting in one body and in harmony—from every part of the country. It will brand to everlasting infamy the slander that peace and good-will from every section cannot meet in council for the well-being of the whole land. [Cheers.] No one need apprehend that this requires the disbanding of the Democratic party. As I told the Democratic caucus at Washington the other night—no one, no Committee is authorized to break up the Democratic party. It is immortal as the Constitution. [Cheers.] It only requires that we should choose delegates who believe in the Presidential and Democratic policy of Federal restoration and Congressional representation, and give them credentials to Philadelphia. Men of Tammany! see to this! It cannot absorb the Democracy. It must help the country. It

will avert civil conflict. It will entomb Radicalism. You know how to make this idea practical. When it is realized, then the invocation of my eloquent friend (Mr. O'Gorman), that the people will save themselves, will begin to find realization. Then will come in peace and repose the good time when the question will be answered.

“When wilt Thou save the people?  
O God of Mercy! When?  
Not kings and despots—tyrants!—  
But hearts and homes and men!  
Shall crime breed crime forever?  
Strength aiding still the strong?  
No! say the mountains; No! the skies,  
Our clouded sun shall proudly rise,  
And songs ascend, instead of sighs.  
God save the people! (Cheers.)

After Mr. Cox had finished his speech, and had retired amid the applause of the audience, His Honor Mayor Hoffman said:

I now beg leave to introduce to the audience ex-Judge Pierrepont, who will deliver a short address. (Loud cheers.)

#### ADDRESS OF EX-JUDGE PIERREPONT.

GRAND SACHEM AND BRETHREN OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY:—The Grand Sachem has very properly announced to you that my address will be short, and I have

the pleasure to announce to you that it will be short. As you know, my brethren, I never meet you except on some matter of business. I never come to Tammany Hall except for the purpose of accomplishing some end. Two years ago I met you here, and then we were at war. Last year I did not meet you, simply because I was in another part of the world. Now that war is over, in my humble judgment it becomes us, after the great smoke of that war has rolled away, to take a slight survey, and see the condition in which we are placed after this war. Do you think it is all entirely ended? [Cries of "No, no."] Have you the same peace, the same prosperity, and the same liberty that you had before this war began? [No, no.] Now, let us see. This is a very good day to commence a consideration of this subject. This is the natal day of freedom. Whatever you may be told upon this subject, there never was in the world such a thing as real liberty until it was born on this day in 1776. [Applause.] There was a talk of liberty. It was a mere semblance of it—it was never real. Kings, lords and nobles always took the earnings of the people and always oppressed the people, and the people never had a real voice in any real government until 1776. Now, as true religion came into the world at the birth of Christ, so did true liberty come into the world at the Declaration of Independence. [Cheers.] When the one was born you will remember that a star stood over where the young child was, and our fathers took the star, and planted it in the azure of their flag, and one by one

as they shone out in this western sky as the harbingers of liberty, we placed them one by one in the great constellation (applause). And yet, my brethren, you have seen all those stars obscured, yea, almost blotted out ; and to my vision, as I scan the horizon, there still is a thick fog left. Do you now see all those stars as bright as they once were ? If you go to the Capitol at Washington, enter the Senate Chamber, and ask where are those Senators who represent the eleven Southern States, do you find any one of them ? Are they all dead ? Are the States dead ? Are the people, your former brethren who lived in these States, all dead ? Are they slaves ? Are they a conquered people to whom no rights are left ? If not, where are the indications of those rights ? Go into the House of Representatives, where the people are directly represented ; do you see a single man who has come up from that great country to represent the people ? Not a man ! Are those people all dead ? Are they all slaves ? Are they a conquered people who have no rights left ? What does all this mean ? Now you will remember when the European Governments, a few years ago, addressed us through Mr. Seward, our Secretary of State, proposing that we should have some convention to debate and consider the rights of these Southern States, Mr. Seward, in his famous letter, which was then published to the world, said to those European nations : "The Congress of the United States is open to them all ; there they can come and debate this question, and there at that bar they can present their rights. Let them simply throw

down their arms ; the Congress of the United States is open to them ; there they can come and have a fair hearing ; all their grievances shall be listened to ; and Europe, with a silent voice, said : ' That is all right.' " Not long after this the army surrendered, and the South, to a man, laid down their arms. They fought like brave men long, and were beaten ; but when utterly exhausted, then they yielded, like brave men. [Applause.] And had they not the right to suppose that they would be permitted to come back to Congress and to the Senate, and that the rights which Mr. Seward had promised them, namely, the right to present their grievances, would be listened to ? When they had done all that, and when our brave Generals had received the swords of their brave Generals, when they surrendered themselves as prisoners of war, then the Southern people had a right to suppose when they sent their Senators and Representatives to Congress, in the ordinary way, and under such forms as the Constitution prescribed, that then their rights would be inquired into, and if they were properly elected and fit men, that they would be received back into Congress. (Cheers.) Was there any doubt about their having this right ? Now, my fellow-citizens, let us look at this question like honest men. True, an effort has been made to completely beg off this whole subject. There is no mystery about the subject of reconstruction at all. There is no reconstruction about it. The States were in rebellion. We did what we could to put that rebellion down, and we did put it down. When the rebellion was put down it

was put down forever, perfect and complete. What more was to be done? What was left to be done? We told them in the early part of the war: "Lay down your arms, return to your allegiance, and you shall be restored to this Union." They took us at our word; they came back and asked to be admitted, that they might be listened to in presenting their rights and their wrongs. Then, all at once, started up a new doctrine: "Why, you are out of the Union; you do not exist, and have no rights at all; you are to be reconstructed." And that was started up, and for what? Was it for the purpose of restoring those States? Was that doctrine got up for the purpose of restoring the Union? No. Every man of the slightest sense knows it was an excuse to prevent the restoration of the Union. Now, we all know that perfectly well. When we of the Democratic party joined in this war—when we put heart and soul, everything we had, reputation and all, into it, to put down the rebellion, we did it for the purpose of restoring and preserving the Union, and not for the purpose of keeping those States out of the Union. Do you suppose in this entire North that there exists any true Democrat who would have lifted his right arm, or raised his voice for the war, had he supposed when the rebellion was put down, when the South surrendered and laid down their arms, they were to be forever kept out of this Union. (Applause). Why, our object was to keep them in the Union; to restore them to the Union. Now, my friends, I am a practical man. If I possess any faculty, it is to

accomplish results. I take no interest in politics whatever as a mere game at play, in which the player is amused and careless as to what the result shall be. But I take, in this great contest that I see coming, a deep interest. I take an interest in it through the hope and belief that, by wise counsels and united action, we can accomplish results that will redound to the glory of our country, and to its salvation and liberty. (Cheers.) Now, what is to be done? It is easy to talk in generalities upon this subject. Let us come to something practical, and, if you will pardon me a few minutes, I shall have done, and you will be wearied no longer. Now, what is to be done? Talk does not accomplish anything. Something else ought to be done. Counsel, wisdom, intercommunication, and some plan adopted which would tend to result in some great good, is what we want. Now, this fall we are to elect in this State a Governor, a very important step, as I shall presently show you. This great State of New York, whatever any one else may say of it elsewhere, does rule the Union. (Loud cheers.) The people outside of her imitate her laws; they imitate her virtues, and, I am fearful, even her vices. But it is natural. It is in the order of things, and it cannot be resisted. Now, if you will look at the present constitution of the Legislature of this State, you will perceive that unless the Democratic party can elect a Governor this fall, the vacancy for Senator will be filled by a Radical. So you will perceive how carefully this election for Governor should be con-

ducted. It should be conducted in such a way that it will not be regarded as a game of politics, but should lead to a success. If you can elect a Governor you can force a Conservative man or a true Democrat into that place as Senator. Nothing can resist that. Now, what is the mode to accomplish that end? for as I said to you just now, I am simply a man of business. I take no interest in idle thought or vague speculation. What is the mode of doing it? You know well how we are situated in this State. It is very clear, and need not be doubted by any man who looks at the matter, that Governor Fenton will be renominated for Governor, and, if he be successful, a Senator of his particular political stripe will be elected next winter. That is a fact demonstrated; it needs no argument. Now, the moral effect of that thing upon the country will be bad. When the people see that this great State places itself in that position, it influences tens of thousands of other men. It influences timid minds. It influences selfish men—men who are not governed by principle, but by their own interests, and who will always go on the strongest side. It encourages all our foes, and paralyzes many of our friends. Now, I say that we can accomplish our object. In the party represented by the present Governor is a strong conservative element that would be glad to have him defeated, if any proper man whom it could support was nominated to take his place. (Loud cheers).

A voice—I say John T. Hoffman is the proper man [Loud cheers].

Judge Pierrepont—Listen to me for a few moments, and I shall close all I have to say. Now, Mr. President Johnson has been alluded to here, and we all know what his sympathies are. But President Johnson alone can do but little, notwithstanding his great partiality for the Democratic party. Why? President Johnson was elected by the other party, and, therefore, he cannot desert completely the party who elected him, and take sides against it. It is not to be expected of him; and if anybody thinks so, he will be disappointed. His sympathies are with us, but you must consider the position in which he is, the condition in which he stands towards the country, and to the party who elected him, and not ask of him any more than it is right to ask of human nature. Now, fellow-citizens, how shall we settle this matter? First, we have to make up our minds who we want—not that we want to succeed—but to make up our minds who we want. We will take as an illustration the present Mayor of the city, for instance. Let us go back to his election, and it will serve as a general illustration of what I want to call your attention to. You know that the present Mayor of this city having taken such a political course as gave the people of this city great confidence in him, the Democratic party nominated him, and his election was certain. Yet it was one of the most difficult elections since I have observed politics in this city. The other party ran against him Marshall O. Roberts, a genial, generous man, a popular man, and they had under their control uncounted millions of gold to spend, which they spent freely, and

yet, the thing being adjusted as it was, the Democratic party showing its wisdom in nominating this man whom they did for Mayor, the result of it was, to bring over to his side much of the Conservative element, and all the Democratic party ; he was elected triumphantly, and all the people rejoiced. [Cheers.] There is a great deal, whatever may be said to the contrary, in the man. Now, if you undertake to elect any man Governor of this State who cannot bring some portion of the Conservative element upon the other side to your support, we shall fail ; and, if we fail in that, we shall fail in the Senator, and this great Government will tend to become an empire, with all the power and evils of imperialism. Now let the society to-day talk this matter over, and see if they can fix on any one man to lead them to success. Will you pardon me when I say the man I think the right one. I am a lawyer, and look at the bearing of things to see how they will come out at the end. And, if you will permit me to name the man the most fitting for your nomination as Governor of this State, I would place my hand upon the head of him who sits behind me—the Mayor of the city of New York ! [Loud cheers.]

Judge Pierrepont having concluded his address, retired amid loud applause, when the Hon. Sheriff, Kelly, who was now in the chair (Mayor Hoffman having been compelled to leave to fulfil another engagement), read the following sentiment, being

## A RESPONSE OF RECORDER HACKETT

to an invitation extended to him to be present, and with which he was not, in consequence of a previous engagement, able to comply :

“The Grand Sachem of the United States, Andrew Johnson—May he soon have at his belt all Radical scalps, leaving them their brains ; and before another Fourth of July, may he assemble the whole nation around the council fires of Old Tammany and smoke with them the pipe of peace.”

This sentiment was received with loud cheering, after which Sheriff Kelly announced that the Council of the Wigwam was closed for 1866; and thanking the audience for their attendance, hoped to meet them a year hence around the Democratic council fires. The audience then retired.

The sachems, chiefs and warriors, accompanied by the representatives of the press, then retired to partake of a sumptuous banquet, and to drink the healthful waters of the great spring.

## LETTERS.

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*From the President of the United States.*

EXECUTIVE MANSION,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 2, 1866.* }

SIR—I thank you for the cordial invitation of the time-honored Society of Tammany, to participate with them in the celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence.

The national tone and patriotic spirit of the invitation meet my hearty approval. They are indications of a growing public sentiment, which, now that the bitter strife of civil war has ceased, requires a renewal of the pursuits of peace, a return to the Constitution of our fathers, rigid adherence to its principles, increased reverence for its sacred obligations; a restored, invigorated, and permanent Union; and a fraternity of feeling that shall make us, as a people, one and indissoluble. There can be for the patriot no higher duty, no nobler work, than the obliteration of the passions and prejudices which, resulting from our late sanguinary conflict, have retarded reconciliation, and prevented that complete restoration of all the States to their constitutional relations with the Federal Government, which is essential to the peace, unity, strength, and prosperity of the nation.

Regretting that my public duties will not permit me to be present at your celebration,

I am very respectfully yours,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

To the Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, etc., etc., City Hall, New York.

*From Secretary Seward.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }  
WASHINGTON, *June 26, 1866.* }

To the Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *City Hall, New York:*

SIR—I have had the honor to receive the invitation of the Tammany Society for the celebration of the approaching Fourth of July.

I am highly pleased with the form of the invitation. I like the motto which is placed at its head, "The Union must and shall be

preserved." I like the vignette which illustrates it. I like the associated hues with which it is colored, namely : the red, white, and blue. I like the temple of liberty based upon the rock of the Constitution, and protected by the eagle of the American continent. I like the ships and railroads, indicative of prosperity and progress. I like the significant conjunction of dates, 1776 and 1866—a period of ninety years. Why, in looking at these figures we almost feel assured that our Republic has a life of at least one century. Alas ! how many republics have been shorter lived ! I would have had the flag of the Union, which is on the right, present in its azure field only the thirteen original States ; but I especially delight in the flag which is on the left hand, and in whose enlarged field twenty-three stars are blazing which have come out from the deep cerulean within the past ninety years, while the original thirteen stars yet remain in their ancient place, all their morning lustre undiminished.

I have had some differences in my time with the Tammany Society, but I long ago forgot them all, when I recalled the fact that the Society has never once failed to observe and honor the anniversary of National Independence ; and the further fact that during the recent civil war the Tammany Society sent its sons to fight for the Union, and, with unswerving fidelity, heartily supported the Federal Government in its struggles with sedition. In view of these facts, and of the noble principles now avowed, I hail the Tammany Society as a true Union League.

I rejoice with the Society that the conflict of arms has ceased ; that the authority of the Government has been vindicated, and that the flag of the Union now floats triumphantly over every foot of national domain. On the other hand, I mourn with the Society that the perfect Union given to us by our patriotic forefathers has not yet been entirely restored ; that eleven sovereign States are denied representation in the Federal Congress, and are not recognised as coördinate parts in the National Legislature. How strange all this ! We have killed disunion outright, and have killed African slavery with it, and yet we are not completely reunited.

If I did not feel assured that the American people cannot suffer so great and fatal a solecism to continue, I should say, as many others do, that we are at a crisis. But I have unbounded confidence in the wisdom and virtue of the American people. It is said in excuse of the denial of representation, that the States and their chosen Representatives still continue to be seditious and disloyal. I ask, is Tennessee disloyal ? Is Arkansas seditious ? Are the Senators and Representatives of those States disloyal ? I desire, in this

respect, that each of the two Houses of Congress will apply the constitutional test, with all the improvement of legislation upon it, and thus admit those States and Representatives who are loyal, and reject only those against whom the crime of disloyalty shall be established.

I believe with the Tammany Society that the Union was created to be perpetual, that the States are equal under the Constitution, that the restoration of the Union by the recent war ought to be acknowledged and recognised by all the departments of the Federal Government; that a spirit of magnanimity and fraternity should prevail in all our councils; and that the South, having accepted the lessons of the war, and relinquished the heresies of secession, should, just so fast as she comes, in the attitude of loyalty, and in the persons of loyal and qualified Representatives, be admitted to her constitutional representation.

I want, henceforth and forever, no North, no South, no East, no West; no divisions, and no sections and no classes, but one united and harmonious people.

It will be impossible for me to attend the celebration personally. What I have written I trust will satisfy the Society that, in spirit, I shall always be with them when they shall be engaged in renewing and fortifying the National Union.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your very obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

*From Secretary Welles.*

GENTLEMEN—I have received your invitation, and should be happy to participate with the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, in celebrating the approaching anniversary of our National Independence, were I not prevented by public duties.

To the honor of your Society, it has in all times and under all circumstances, in war and in peace, been faithful to the union of the States and the rights of the States. At no period since its organization have its teachings and services been more required than at the present, when, the victorious arms of the Republic having suppressed the false theory that the Union can be divided by secession, or the voluntary withdrawal of a State from the Federal relations and obligations, we are compelled to encounter the opposite extreme of compulsory exclusion, by which the centralists deny to eleven States the representation in Congress which is guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

This doctrine of compulsory exclusion is scarcely less offensive than that of voluntary secession. Each is fatal to the perpetuity of the Union.

After a long and exhausting war, which has cost us so much blood and treasure, the country needs repose, that industry, commerce, and the arts of peace may revive, and friendly relations between the States and people may be reëstablished. Friendly confidence among the people is to be encouraged, and must supersede hatred and revenge. No portion of the States or people can be deprived of their just rights without producing estrangement.

I respond most sincerely to the correct and patriotic views expressed in your invitation ; and regretting my inability to be present with you, I respectfully submit the following sentiment :

The *Union* of the States—only to be maintained by a faithful observance of the *rights* of the States.

Very respectfully,

GIDEON WELLES.

JOHN T. HOFFMAN, Esq., City Hall, N. Y.

*From Gen. Grant.*

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 28, 1866.* }

HIS HONOR JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Mayor of New York, Grand Sachem Tammany Society :*

SIR—Lieut.-Gen. Grant directs me to acknowledge the receipt of an invitation from the Tammany Society to take part in the celebration of the approaching Anniversary of American Independence, and his regret that a previous engagement will oblige him to decline the honor.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

ADAM BADEAU,

Brevet-Col. and Military Secretary.

*From Maj.-Gen. W. S. Hancock.*

BALTIMORE, MD., *July 2, 1866.*

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society, New York :*

MY DEAR SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of June 23, requesting my attendance in New York on the Fourth of July next, for the purpose of taking part in

the celebration by the Tammany Society of the Anniversary of our National Independence.

It would afford me much pleasure to accept your invitation, and I should not fail to do so, were I not bound by a previous engagement to be in Philadelphia on that day.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WINF. S. HANCOCK,  
Major-General U. S. Vols.

*From Maj.-Gen. D. E. Sickles.*

CHARLESTON, S. C., July 4, 1866.

To Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Mayor, N. Y. :*

I had the honor to receive, this morning, the invitation of Tammany Society to attend their celebration to-day, and can only express my grateful appreciation of their courtesy. The loyal populations in principal towns of North and South Carolina are commemorating the National Anniversary by processions, patriotic addresses, etc., with much enthusiasm, and without disorder.

D. E. SICKLES,

Major-General Commanding.

*From Maj.-Gen. W. B. Franklin.*

HARTFORD, CONN., July 3, 1866.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *City Hall, New York :*

DEAR SIR—I have received the invitation of the Tammany Society to attend its celebration of the Fourth of July. I regret that other arrangements, made before I received the invitation, will prevent me from being present at the celebration.

The last clause of the letter of invitation, containing what ought to be the political creed of all those whom the Tammany Society asks to join her in perpetuating the principles of our Government, is heartily endorsed by me. I hope and believe that a very few months will show that this is the creed of an immense majority of the American people.

With many thanks for the invitation,

I am very respectfully yours,

W. B. FRANKLIN.

*Tammany Society.**From Maj.-Gen. D. N. Couch.*

TAUNTON, MASS, July 2, 1866.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem* :

DEAR SIR—It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge the receipt of an invitation to join the Tammany Society in its proposed celebration of the Fourth of July.

I have delayed writing, hoping that circumstances would allow me to be present, but at this late hour am obliged to decline.

I would like to become acquainted with the members of a body of gentlemen who keep alive the true *democratic fire*.

I am, sir,

Very respectfully and truly,

D. N. COUCH.

*From Maj.-Gen. H. E. Davies, Jr.*

OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR, }  
115 and 117 Nassau Street. }  
NEW YORK, July 2, 1866. }

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN :

DEAR SIR—I have great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of an invitation to take part in the ceremonies of the Tammany Society, for the celebration of the Fourth day of July inst.

I regret exceedingly that an engagement of long standing will, by calling me from the city, prevent my attendance on so interesting an occasion.

I should have greatly enjoyed the opportunity of joining in person in your demonstration, but can do so only by my best wishes and cordial sympathy.

Very respectfully,

H. E. DAVIES, JR.

*From General Barry.*

HEADQUARTERS NORTHERN FRONTIER, }  
BUFFALO, N. Y., June 28, 1866. }

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem* :

DEAR SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation of the Tammany Society to participate in its celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence.

I regret extremely that public duties on the frontier will prevent my accepting the invitation, and will deprive me of the high gratifi-

cation of meeting the friends of *the Union* on so joyous an occasion.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM F. BARRY,

Colonel Second U. S. Art., Bt. Brig.-Gen. U.S.A.

*From the Hon. Nelson Taylor.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 1, 1866.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order:*

DEAR SIR—The cordial invitation of the Society over which you have the honor to preside, to take part in the coming Anniversary of our National Independence, is received.

I feel myself highly honored in being invited to a participation in the ceremonies on the occasion, and regret exceedingly to be obliged to state that my official duties will constrain me to forego the pleasure of being present.

Be assured, however, though not present, that my feelings and sympathies are fully and wholly enlisted in the object and cause of the celebration. With the fervent hope and trust that the influence of the patriotic ceremonies which have ever characterized the celebration of Independence-day by the Tammany Society, may extend throughout the land and unite all devoted and patriotic citizens in a band of brotherhood, to stay and drive back the fanaticism which seems to rule the hour, and threatens the destruction of "the perfect Union bequeathed to us by our patriotic forefathers."

With sentiments of respect,

I remain your obedient servant,

NELSON TAYLOR.

*From the Hon. John P. Stockton.*

TRENTON, N. J., Sunday, July 1, 1866.

To Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, Esq., *City Hall, New York:*

MY DEAR SIR—Permit me, through you, to thank the Tammany Society for their cordial invitation to be with them at their celebration of the anniversary of our National Independence.

I regret that my professional engagements will prevent my being present on the occasion, but desire, at the same time, to assure the Society that it gives me great satisfaction to indorse heartily the noble and patriotic sentiments so appropriately expressed in their kind invitation. If I did not believe that the restoration of the

Union by the recent war ought to be acknowledged and recognised by all departments of our Government as an established and practical fact, I should find it difficult to discover any reason to celebrate at this time the anniversary of our National Independence.

I am firmly convinced that there are pure-minded, patriotic men in this country sufficient in number to prevent "the Union bequeathed to us by our fathers, and which force has been unable to divide, from being annulled by partisan politicians."

I am, with much respect,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN P. STOCKTON.

*From the Hon. Tunis G. Bergen.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 26, 1866. }

JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Esq.*:

DEAR SIR—I acknowledge the honor of the receipt, this day, of an invitation to attend and take part in the celebration of the Anniversary of our National Independence, from the Tammany Society of New York, a society, if my memory serves me aright, whose history is as old as that of our National Independence; whose object has always been the best interests of our common country, the preservation of our liberties, and the perpetuation of our beloved Union. I think it probable that my duties here will permit me to visit my home on the occasion referred to; in which case, if my health permits, I will be happy to accept your invitation.

Yours respectfully,

TUNIS G. BERGEN.

*From the Hon. James Brooks.*

NEW YORK, July 3, 1866.

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN:

DEAR SIR—Absence from the city will prevent my acceptance of the polite invitation of the Tammany Society to join with them in their celebration of the Fourth.

I cordially concur in the Union principles and Union sentiments set forth in your letter of invitation, and rejoice to see Tammany Hall re-proclaiming its old creed—"The Union must and shall be preserved."

Yours respectfully,

JAMES BROOKS.

*From the Hon. James DePeyster Ogden.*

NEW YORK, June 28, 1866.

TO JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem, Tammany Society* :

DEAR SIR—I received with pleasure your invitation to share with you in the celebration of the Anniversary of our National Independence; and I acknowledge your courtesy as less in honor of the day than of the principles and tone of your address.

With due consideration, I remain

Your obedient servant,

JAMES DEP. OGDEN.

*From the Hon. Washington Hunt.*

NEW YORK, June 30, 1866.

GENTLEMEN—I would gladly accept your invitation to take part in the ensuing celebration of the anniversary of our National Independence, at Tammany Hall, but my early return to the country will deprive me of the pleasure of uniting with you in person on this interesting occasion.

I subscribe without reserve to the just and patriotic views which you have so well expressed in regard to the present political crisis. The spirit of disunion and despotism manifested by the responsible majority in Congress, in the avowed design to exclude eleven States from their rightful position as members of the Federal Union, and to govern them as subjugated provinces by the laws of conquest, is alike revolutionary and treasonable, and utterly repugnant to the principles of republican government established by our ancestors. The Federal Government was intended as a beneficent agency to unite the States, to protect them in their rights, and to confer upon their people with lavish hand the blessings of domestic peace, harmony, and security. But of late we have seen its powers employed to defeat all these great and paramount ends. It is now made an instrument of fanaticism and revenge, and wielded according to the varying dictates of party interest or passion to keep the sections asunder, to foster hateful antipathies, and prolong the miseries of civil discord.

Not content with the exercise of arbitrary power over the States and people of the South, the action of the present Congress displays a blind disregard of the rights of all the States, as fixed by the Constitution.

The evident tendency and design of the prevailing policy is to

reduce the States to insignificance by depriving them of their most essential prerogatives, and transferring all the important powers of government to the Federal head. This process of centralization is going on with fearful rapidity and boldness. A right of Federal control is deliberately asserted over regulations of suffrage, vagrancy, pauperism, education, banking, insurance, and a variety of subjects of domestic concern which belong to the inherent jurisdiction of the States. A constantly extending system of *bureau administration*, borrowed from the most absolute monarchies of the Old World, and peculiarly *anti-American* in every respect, proclaims an overshadowing consolidated government, resting on the ruins of constitutional liberty. The time has come when the people must decide between these conflicting systems and principles of government. I persuade myself that they will be found true to the cause of public liberty, and faithful to the rights of the States, as understood and guarded with patriotic vigilance by the statesmen of former days. They will come to the rescue of the country and demand an immediate restoration of the Union according to the Constitution.

I remain, gentlemen,

Very respectfully and truly yours,

WASHINGTON HUNT.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, JOHN KELLY,  
CHARLES G. CORNELL, and others.

*From the Hon. S. J. Tilden.*

NEW YORK, July 3, 1866.

GENTLEMEN—Regretting that I cannot personally attend the celebration of the Fourth of July by the Tammany Society, to which you have invited me, I nevertheless concur most cordially in the patriotic sentiments so eloquently expressed in the sentiments of the Sachems.

Your venerable society may well felicitate itself upon its political retrospect. It did everything in its power to avert civil strife by a policy which was reproached as too conciliatory by those who did not comprehend the danger. When the conflict of arms came, it cordially maintained the nationality of our people in a confederated republic, which Jefferson and Madison and Jackson always held to be incapable of being dissolved, except by a revolutionary destruction of the Constitution. And now that peace has once more happily returned, it claims that constitutional rights shall be restored throughout the whole country; that every State shall be replaced in its constitutional orbit; that we shall once more present to the world

a continental system of States bound together by a constitutional Union—founded on the true principle of local self-government and individual liberty, and sustained by the voluntary action of a people among whom government is everywhere carried on by the consent of the governed.

Alas ! that this benign work of peace should be more difficult than the fierce struggle of war. But so it is.

Multitudes of our fellow-citizens are so infatuated with fear of the danger of disunion, which has now passed, that they create a danger of centralism fatal to all liberty—to all constitutional government—and at last, by inevitable reaction, to the Union itself.

Instead of restoring the system of our fathers, the purpose to do which alone consecrated our cause against secession as righteous, they would erect upon this fair continent eleven Polands, eleven Hungaries, eleven Irelands !

And the same principles of despotism which they would apply to our recent enemies they freely extend to the whole Northern people.

I say the principles of despotism. For *centralism* is DESPOTISM. Was centralism ever before so rampant as now ? The distinguished characteristic of the controlling element of the so-called Republican party, which now sways the two Houses of Congress, is a total disregard of all limitations of power established by our written constitutions ; an overwhelming contempt for all fundamental law, whether State or Federal.

No right of localities or of individuals is deemed sacred.

The principles which underlie our whole political system are not respected. They do not seem to be even comprehended.

The present Congress and the advanced Republican party are a rule unto themselves. Their own opinion of what is convenient or expedient they should do is the only limitation of power which they acknowledge ; and it is their opinion that they should do pretty much everything, in all places and with respect to everybody.

Of course, such a false system of political philosophy does now, as it has in all ages, immediately degenerate into selfish rapacity. Congress is mainly occupied in putting new manacles on the trade and industry of the country, and the most respectable representatives of the prevalent political ideas are voting money out of everybody's pockets into their own.

In this condition of things nothing but the principles of the Democratic party, as maintained by Jefferson and Jackson, can save the country. There is no organized agency which can give effect to

these principles except the Democratic party, with such alliances as it may form in the cause of liberal government.

From the day of the accession of President Johnson I have felt renewed confidence that the American people would not only maintain our national unity, but would reconstruct our political institutions on their ancient foundations.

The political ideas of Jefferson and Jackson, in which President Johnson was educated, and which have become incarnated in his very nature; the character of the work he was providentially called to undertake in bringing back into our system the people of eleven States lately in revolt, which he could only do by addressing the intellects and sentiments of that people, were guarantees that he would recur to the original fountains of our American principles of government.

As for us, we could not but accept what we had sought when we endeavored to elect McClellan; first, the reestablishment of national unity; secondly, the starting of the restored Government in its new career, upon its original and true principles.

The situation controls, not the plans or wishes of individuals.

In my judgment, neither President Johnson nor the Democratic party could stop what events so clearly commanded.

Last year, at your Fourth of July celebration, I promised him in your name, and in the name of the Democratic party, amid your acclamations, a liberal coöperation in the great work; and I afterwards repeated that assurance in person.

The time has now come when all parties who favor President Johnson's plan of pacification must act with reference to the election of the next Congress.

President Johnson will be under the necessity of appealing to the whole body of the people, accepting all who come to him on the issue he has made, and separating from all who go against him on that issue.

If he should attempt the narrow and futile scheme urged upon him by those who are neither his friends nor the friends of his cause, of carrying out his policy through the exclusive agency of the Republican party, in case he can capture it and convert it to his purposes, he will find his machine turned against him in the hour of his need. He will find himself, like the unfortunate object of Turkish jealousy, tied up in a bag, to be silently strangled.

I do not doubt that he will act on the larger policy which would have governed Andrew Jackson or Henry Clay under like circumstances.

He will cast himself upon the whole body of our people, leaving parties and organizations to take care of themselves. He will be triumphantly sustained.

The Democratic party should pursue a liberal policy in all its actions, and accept as brethren all who stand with it on the present issue. It is too powerful to be jealous. It has too great a motive for the restoration of its own traditional principles of government to an ascendancy in the councils of the country, which they made great, prosperous, and happy, to think of anything less grand or less noble.

With much respect, I remain, gentlemen,

Yours truly,

S. J. TILDEN.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, Grand Sachem, and Hon. JOHN KELLY and others, Sachems.

*From W. B. Lawrence.*

OCHRE POINT, NEWPORT, R. I., }  
June 29, 1866. }

GENTLEMEN—In reply to your invitation to take part with the Tammany Society in the celebration of the Fourth of July next, permit me to reciprocate congratulations on the fact that we are still allowed to claim a National Anniversary ; even though that reunion of the North and the South, which we had last year so much reason to suppose would, ere this, have been fully accomplished, is now indefinitely deferred.

Nor does the exclusion of eleven members of the Confederation from all participation in the national councils affect the disfranchised States alone. No publicist can recognise as obligatory, according to the spirit of our Federal Constitution, however expediency may compel us to recognise its authority, the legislation of a Congress from which are arbitrarily excluded the delegates of the sovereignty of nearly one-third of the States, to say nothing of the forced absence of the representatives of their respective populations.

The restoration of the integrity of the Union, or rather its maintenance unimpaired, for it cannot be admitted that any of the States ever ceased to exist as such, is the great issue now before the country. Though believing that the mode suggested on the field of battle, known as the Sherman-Johnston arrangement, was the system indicated alike by constitutional and international law, I am well aware that in the attainment of a result by which all the departments of the Government in every State can be again brought to the

performance of their Constitutional functions, the forms by which it is accomplished are altogether matters of subordinate consideration.

No one can doubt the sincere patriotism by which President Johnson—on whom, owing to a diabolical assassination, was suddenly thrust the supreme power—adopted, in lieu of the military convention, another plan of reconstruction. That plan which, in yielding by its numerous exclusions from the proffered amnesty everything that could be asked even by the most intolerant zealot, it might well have been supposed would have disarmed all opposition to the immediate reception of the repentant States in the only position which, under a constitution that recognises no distinction among the members of the Union, they could legitimately occupy.

The principle of the *jus postliminii* would, on the submission of the Confederate authorities, in any view of the nature of the contest, have replaced the State, which had obeyed the government of the usurpation, as a government *de facto*, in their pristine relations to the Union.

If, however, we disregard the peculiar character of our Federal institutions, and consider the Southern States as a country conquered by our arms, the modern laws of the civilized world, while investing the United States with all the attributes of the sovereignty exercised by the *de facto* Government of the Confederacy, as well as with all the public property, secures to the populations the same political and civil rights as are enjoyed by the States with which they thus become reincorporated. Such has been the course in Europe in the many political vicissitudes which the States of the Continent have undergone during the present century. In no view of the matter could the inhabitants of the South, on the final surrender of the Confederate armies, have been in a worse condition as to political rights than were those of Louisiana, of Florida, and of the ceded portions of Mexico, at the time of their respective annexations to the United States. The provisions in the treaties of cession for admission to equal political rights were, indeed, merely declaratory of the law of nations.

Without resorting to the pages of history, one would suppose that the most reckless American statesman would wish to avoid perpetuating in the hearts of the people of the South such feelings of inveterate hatred towards us of the North, as have made for centuries the discontent of Ireland a source of continuous embarrassment to the so-called United Kingdom.

Indeed, had it not been for our laws of neutrality, which go far

beyond what international obligations require, this deadly hostility would have ere this placed the most valuable of the British colonies in America in possession of the denationalized subjects of the Queen, to serve as the basis of operations against the metropolis.

Till the unhappy secession of the South it was the proud expectation of every American to see our representative federative system extending the authority of the Union to the remotest portion of the American Continent. Whether these aspirations are to be renewed must depend on the character of the future relations between the different sections of our country. That nothing but internal dissensions can prevent such a result is clearly foreseen by foreign statesmen, who are now presenting as the strongest argument in favor of a general pacification and the establishment of a common organ, like our Congress, for all the nations of Europe, the danger to them from the overwhelming power which, at no distant day, the North American Confederation must control. "The two sovereignties, that of the individual States and that of the Federal Government," says Michel Chevalier, in a paper which undoubtedly gives the Imperial inspirations, "had from 1789 to 1861 no more difficulties than occur in private life in the intercourse of near and affectionate relatives. After a contest forever memorable, the South has been conquered. Slavery is abolished. This work accomplished, the collective sovereignty of the Union resumes its vigorous life."

Nor can it be denied that never before was there greater encouragement for the legitimate extension of our political system. Europe is on the eve of a contest which, whatever changes it may effect in the balance of power among the different states, leaves no room for intervention in the affairs of America.

It requires no system of public law peculiar to our continent to vindicate the right of any people to prevent the occupation of adjacent territory by a foreign power, in a way that may operate to the prejudice of their interests. France, when she announced to Prussia in 1830 that the entrance of her troops into Belgium (the object of which was to aid the King of the Netherlands in recovering his authority) would be followed by its instantaneous occupation by a French army, had no occasion to appeal to any Monroe doctrine. The universal law of nations justified her in protecting her own institutions by preventing intervention in those of her immediate neighbor. Nor can it be doubted that we had in 1861 a full right to resist, as an act hostile towards us, and which is the foundation of all existing difficulties in that quarter, the movements of France

against Mexico, whether made under the color of the tripartite convention, or in her own name.

The certainty that the repeal of our neutrality laws, though we violated no rule of international law, would place Canada in the hands of the Fenians, as well as the knowledge that in any war with the United States it could not be retained a week, might render Great Britain not averse to a renunciation of territory, the possession of which her political economists have long contended was a positive disadvantage to her pecuniary prosperity.

Fortunate it may be deemed for the country that we have at the head of the Government, at an epoch pregnant with mighty events, a Chief Magistrate who, instructed by actual participation in the most important public affairs during more than a quarter of a century, has already commanded, by his practical statesmanship, the respect of the rulers of other nations. On him we may rely, when he shall be aided by a Cabinet founded on the "unit" doctrine of his great Tennessee predecessor, to carry out a policy which, while it heals all internal dissensions, by rendering simple justice to every State, may establish for the Republic such territorial boundaries as will render, for ever after, impossible all foreign assaults against its political integrity.

With much regret that I am unable personally to interchange views at this interesting crisis with the members of Tammany Society, and repeating my firm conviction that it becomes all patriots to rally around the President in the impending contest,

I am, very respectfully,

Your fellow-Democrat,

W. B. LAWRENCE.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, Grand Sachem, and the Sachems of Tammany Society, etc., etc.

*From F. S. Bosworth.*

NEW YORK, July 2, 1866.

JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem*—I acknowledge the receipt of an invitation from the Tammany Society to take part in its celebration of the next anniversary of our National Independence.

This Society "invites to her celebration all those who believe that the Union was created to be perpetual; that the States are equal under the Constitution; that the restoration of the Union by the recent war ought to be acknowledged and recognised by all the departments of the Federal Government; that a spirit of fraternity

and magnanimity should prevail in all our councils and our policy ; and that the South, having accepted the lessons of war, and relinquished the heresies of secession, should be at once admitted to her Constitutional representation."

The eleven States that are now arbitrarily excluded from all participation in the Government, can appeal to the Declaration of Independence in support of the self-evident truths, that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are inalienable rights ; and "that to secure their rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Cannot these eleven States enumerate, as literally and ruinously applicable to them, "repeated injuries and usurpations" by the present Congress, which are specified in that instrument as having been practised by the then King of Great Britain against the peace and rights of the States which achieved our independence ; "all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States ?"

Cannot these eleven States complain with truth and justice that the present Congress has refused to enact laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good ?

That it has refused to pass other laws due to the rights and interests of these several States, "unless their people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature ; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only ?"

That it "has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance ?"

That it "has kept among us in times of peace standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures ?"

That it has enacted laws "for quartering large bodies of troops among us.

"For imposing taxes upon us without our consent.

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our government.

"For suspending our legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power *to legislate for us in all cases whatever.*

"That in every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms," and have complied fully with the conditions successively imposed upon us in order to our being admitted to representation, and "our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury." A Congress "whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant," is unfit to legislate for a free people.

The Constitution of the United States declares that it was ordained and enacted "in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

These States have renounced the heresy of secession, and professed their allegiance to the Constitution and Government of the United States. They have united their legislative sanction to the emancipation of their slaves. They have repudiated the obligations which they contracted in their effort to establish their independence as a separate Government. They have complied with the conditions imposed, to test their loyalty to the Union, yet they are refused all representation in the Government which exacts their obedience to the laws it enacts, though many of the Representatives elected by them are known to us to be men of undoubted loyalty, and were accepted as such during the whole period of the Rebellion.

These unjust and unconstitutional measures paralyze industry, increase and perpetuate insecurity and anxiety among the people of these States, tend to alienate the feelings of those who are deprived of their constitutional and inalienable rights, and to make a weaker and hated, instead of a more perfect bond of union.

If the Democracy of the country will but practise towards each other the spirit of fraternity and magnanimity which your invitation invokes, "in all our councils and policy," and will rally and unite their energies in the patriotic work of restoring the Union, establishing justice, and insuring domestic tranquillity, we may hope to escape soon from the perils which now threaten our present security and future stability.

I shall take great pleasure, if it shall be practicable for me to be present, in uniting in a celebration having such objects in view, and do not doubt that they will be realized, if their accomplishment shall be the paramount object of an intelligent and well-organized effort.

Very respectfully yours,

J. S. BOSWORTH.

*From H. A. Nelson.*

POUGHKEEPSIE, *July 2, 1866.*

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN:

MY DEAR SIR—I have received the invitation of the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, to take part with them in celebrating the coming anniversary of our National Independence, and regret

that I cannot accept by reason of an engagement previously made for that day.

The action of the Tammany Society during the long and sanguinary war waged by the Federal Government to suppress rebellion has merited and received my cordial indorsement and approval. They appreciated the value of our republican Government, in which the son of the humblest citizen might reach the highest official station, and were ever ready and willing fully to perform their part of the duty imposed to hand down to posterity unimpaired the free institutions inherited from our forefathers. In the days of prosperity and in the days of armed conflict, they believed that this Union was created to be perpetual, and by acts evinced the sincerity of their belief. On the 15th of November, 1777, the thirteen original States did, by delegates in Congress assembled, agree to articles of confederation and perpetual union, in and by which they did "solemnly plight and engage the faith of our (their) respective constituents that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States, in Congress assembled, on all questions which by the said confederation are submitted to them, and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectfully represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual." And the representatives of the people of the United States, in convention assembled, on the 17th day of September, 1787, "in order to form a more perfect Union," did establish the Constitution of the United States. Knowing this, the Tammany Society needed no argument or course of reasoning to convince them that no State had a right to secede from the Union or to dissolve its relations with the sister States under the Constitution, and that the attempt by force of arms to maintain a claim to such right was rebellion; they heartily joined with the patriotic masses to suppress it. And when, during the bloody conflict, stout hearts doubted as to the result, and, as one of the means to produce success, Congress adopted a proposition to amend the Federal Constitution for the abolition of slavery throughout the land, the Tammany Society indorsed the action of the Democratic representatives in Congress who cast their votes in favor of the proposition, and without the votes of the Democratic members of Congress the proposed amendment could not then have been adopted.

War is ended, rebellion is crushed, and peace has come; the Tammany Society steps forward and indorses the action of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, in claiming that the people of all the States shall again enjoy the rights, privileges, and bless-

ings guaranteed by the Constitution ; and the day is not distant when that claim will be acknowledged and conceded, and every State represented, not only by its star on the flag, but by its representatives in the Congress of the nation. Well may the Society of which you are now the chief celebrate the anniversary of our nation's birth, and manfully insist that all shall enjoy the full fruits of peace. With such enjoyment, as one people, may those of the North and those of the South work together in increasing their former prosperity and present greatness.

Again expressing my regret that I cannot join with you in the proposed celebration, I give you

The Tammany Society—May they in the future ever be, as they have been in the past, *right*.

I am truly your friend and obedient servant,

H. A. NELSON.

*From W. F. Allen.*

OSWEGO, July 3, 1866.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem* :

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation of the Tammany Society to take part in its celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence, and regret that my necessary absence from the city will deprive me of the pleasure of meeting with you on that occasion.

I regret it the more, for the reason that it appears to me a very fit time and a suitable occasion for all who believe in the perpetuity of the Union and the equality of the States, who respect the Constitution and love their country, to pronounce against those acts of the Federal Government, which, having their origin in ignorance or disregard of the principles of the Constitution and the theory of our Government, are subversive of both.

By whatever motives the acts referred to and the assumptions of power by Congress are prompted, I cannot but regard them as treasonable and wicked as was the late armed resistance to the lawful authority of the Government, and perhaps more dangerous to the liberties of the people and the rights of the States, because the attack upon our institutions being more subtle and insidious, may not be as readily perceived and promptly resisted.

I rejoice in the catholic spirit of your invitation, embracing, as it does, all who desire a speedy restoration of the Government to its normal condition, and a return of good feeling and cordial good-will

among those who are destined to live under the same Government, and that a government of the people.

I doubt not that as the voice of Tammany during the existence of the rebellion was never uncertain, but always outspoken, decided and influential upon the side of Constitutional Government over every part of the Union ; so now, that the din of arms has ceased, and peace has returned with all its blessings, its voice may be equally decided and potential in resisting the spirit of fanaticism and aggression which prevails in some of the departments of the Federal Government, and in demanding that the Constitution and laws shall resume their sway, and that States and people shall be permitted to resume their rightful positions under the Constitution.

Very respectfully, etc.

W. F. ALLEN.

*From Harmon S. Cutting.*

BUFFALO, July 2, 1866.

GENTLEMEN—Your invitation to take part with Tammany in its celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence is received. It will not be in my power to accept it ; but permit me to express my thanks for having been again remembered by your time-honored Society on the occasion of one of its great annual festivals.

The interest attaching to the proposed celebration will be inferior to none which has ever preceded it ; and at no time in the remarkable history of " Old Tammany " has the great Conservative Democracy had better reason to regard her with pride and satisfaction than now.

In the brief but admirable summary contained in your circular is to be found the only " platform " upon which conservative men of all parties can stand together in the present crisis of the country ; and I cannot doubt that the elections of the coming autumn will show that Tammany not only, but an overwhelming majority of the American people, will practically adopt the sentiments which you have so eloquently expressed.

Regretting that I cannot join in your celebration,

I am, gentlemen, very truly yours,

HARMON S. CUTTING.

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem ;*

HON. JOHN KELLY and others, *Sachems, etc.*

*From the Hon Wm. T. Odell.*

BALLSTON SPA, June 30, 1866.

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, JOHN KELLY, *and others* :

GENTLEMEN—Yours of the 23d instant, on the part of the Tammany Society, inviting me to take part in its celebration of the coming anniversary of our National Independence, was duly received ; and I regret that my engagements are such that I cannot participate with your time-honored Society in celebrating a day sacred to every true American heart—that should be a day of rejoicing throughout the entire land. I fully agree with you in the views expressed in your circular, of the situation of our country, and the policy that should be pursued by “all departments of the Federal Government.” I am one of those who believe that the Union was created to be perpetual, and secession a heresy ; that there were no reasonable grounds for the rebellion of the Southern States ; that redress, for whatever wrongs they complained of, should have been sought under the Constitution ; that the Government was called upon to put down that rebellion, and that it was the duty of every citizen to aid the Government in its efforts—not in a spirit of hatred or fanatical zeal to exterminate the inhabitants of one portion of our country, but with a high-toned patriotism and self-sacrificing philanthropy to preserve the free institutions bequeathed to us by our fathers, and prevent a single star from being stricken from our national flag ; to sustain the Constitution under which we had prospered so long, and execute the laws throughout our entire land ; that the fruits of the toil and suffering of the fathers of the Republic should not be cast aside as a worthless thing, but should be esteemed as above all other earthly good ; that the Constitution is alike binding upon all, and should not be trampled upon either North or South ; that all should be taught to yield obedience to it. And it seems to me that now, when the South has received that lesson, and accepted the situation in which the folly and crime of their leaders have placed them, there can be no reason why the restoration of the Union should not be acknowledged, and they admitted to their Constitutional representation. That it is the duty of every lover of his country to exert himself to consummate a result so desirable, and to teach party politicians in Congress that the people have been, and are now, bearing the burdens of the late war not with the view of keeping in power this party or that, or giving place to any particular set of men, but for the purpose of maintaining the Government of our fathers. That the States still are entitled to all

the rights reserved to them in the Federal compact, except so far as they have been changed by the late amendment to the Constitution ratified by the States, and that they call for no other amendment to that instrument ; that it is of binding force and effect, and needs not be patched up, like an old garment, by every demagogue who may find his way to Washington.

Trusting that the day will be one of enjoyment to you and those who meet with you, and hoping that it will be celebrated with the same spirit by your Society, and the sons of America through all coming time, I am, gents,

Your obedient servant,

WM. T. ODELL.

*From the Hon. Myer Strouse.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 2, 1866.*

DEAR SIR—Be pleased to accept my sincere thanks for your kind invitation to participate in the celebration of the anniversary of our National Independence by the Tammany Society, and be assured that I regret exceedingly to be compelled to decline it, on account of public business. Your letter expresses, most truthfully, the lamentable fact, that, although “the Rebellion has been suppressed ; alas ! the perfect Union bequeathed to us by our patriotic forefathers has not yet been restored.” No ! nor can we hope for the restoration of the Union of the States under the Constitution until the honest and patriotic citizens of the North come to the rescue, and by their votes displace the Radical destructive majority of this Congress. The present *status* of our country is really more critical and dangerous than it has been at any period in its history, and nothing can save the Republic from becoming a centralized despotism, but the bold, free and patriotic action of the people in sustaining the wise and statesmanlike policy of President Johnson, and by electing men of principle, men of honor, and men of enlarged and liberal views to Congress. Not till then can we hope to see our fragmented country once more truly and fraternally united. To this end I know the members of the time-honored Tammany Society are earnestly and actively laboring. We are opposed by a powerful, malignant, and unprincipled party, whose sole aim is the perpetuation of power, the destruction of civil liberty, and the Constitutional rights of the people. That every Democrat and Conservative man may do his duty, and the sunshine of Union may again illumine the horizon of the Republic, is the hearty prayer of

Your obedient servant,

MYER STROUSE.

Hon. J. T. HOFFMAN.

*From D. R. Floyd Jones.*

SOUTH OYSTER BAY, L. I., *June 29, 1866.*

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem, etc. :*

DEAR SIR—I much regret that I am compelled to decline the invitation with which I have been honored by the Tammany Society, to take part in its celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence.

“The conflict of arms has indeed ceased, and the rebellion been subdued,” but the restoration of the Union has not been consummated. Although Congress, with singular unanimity, declared that the war was waged to bring about this result, and although it has been successfully and gloriously terminated, yet those who have control in the legislative branch of the Government, wilfully repudiating both the letter and spirit of the resolution thus solemnly adopted, are striving (and have thus far succeeded in the effort) to postpone to an indefinite period the benefits sure to result from the fulfilment of the great and patriotic purpose for which so much of the treasure of the people has been, and must continue to be, expended, and such generous libations of the blood of our citizens in every portion of the Union memorably displayed.

If the acts of so humble an individual as myself, during the whole of the late civil war, have attracted the notice of the people, they, like the words and deeds of the patriotic Society of which you are at present the honored head, will be found in entire accordance with the spirit of the resolution of Congress before alluded to, and in aid of the National Government in all efforts put forth to suppress the rebellion and restore the Union.

I feel, therefore, that I may freely denounce the unholy attempt of Congress to defeat, for mere party purposes, the noble efforts of President Johnson, seconded by the entire Democratic party of the country, to bring about at once and with no conditions, save those of loyalty and devotion to the Government, the Constitutional Union of the States.

President Johnson is doing his whole duty in this anomalous but unnecessary condition of public affairs ; and I should doubt, which I do not, the intelligence of the people and their fidelity to the constitutional obligations resting upon them, if I did not firmly believe that that intelligence and fidelity will both be signally manifested in the coming elections, and the sound principles and statesmanlike policy of the President triumphantly vindicated.

Yours most truly,

D. R. FLOYD JONES.

*From R. W. Peckham.*

ALBANY, July 3, 1866.

GENTLEMEN—I regret my inability to attend your proposed celebration of our National Independence. The life of our Republic lies in the union and equality of all the States. I agree with you, therefore, in the impolicy as well as in the injustice and illegality of excluding the Southern States from representation in Congress.

In these days I do not take an active part in politics, but I cannot refrain from expressing my cordial concurrence in the spirit and purpose of your celebration.

Thanking you for your courtesy,

I am your friend,

R. W. PECKHAM.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, etc., Committee.

*From Thos. B. Carroll.*

TROY, July 2, 1866.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem* :

DEAR SIR—I have again to thank the Tammany Society for an invitation to participate with her braves in the celebration of the Fourth of July, and again to regret that another engagement will not permit me to accept of the invitation. Tammany has a universal attestation of her fidelity to the Union and institutions of the United States, in times of peace as well as war. In the great struggle before us for constitutional liberty she will have the united, and, I trust, triumphant coöperation of all patriotic and disinterested citizens.

Your friend and obedient servant,

THOS. B. CARROLL.

*From John V. L. Pruyn.*

ALBANY, July 3, 1866.

DEAR SIR—I very much regret that I cannot accept the invitation so kindly sent to me by the Tammany Society to join its members to-morrow in celebrating our National Anniversary.

At no time in our history has it been more important to bring before the American people the great principles upon which their Government was founded, and which are the basis of our National prosperity and power. This, I am sure, the Tammany Society will not fail to do on this occasion ; and without reference to parties or to

names, to protest, as it has done heretofore, against all invasions of arbitrary power, and all violations of great constitutional principles.

Yours, with great respect,

JOHN V. L. PRUYN.

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, Grand Sachem, New York.

*From Richard Vaux.*

PHILADELPHIA, *June 28, 1866.*

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN :

MY DEAR SIR—For many years past the Tammany Society has honored me with an invitation to its general celebration of the Fourth of July. I had the pleasure of being present the last time, on such an occasion, in 1842, with the late George M. Dallas.

It will give me great satisfaction to unite now in the celebration of our Nation's Birthday with the Democracy of New York. The present perils to our system of Government are growing greater every day. Courage is demanded to denounce New England treason in its last form of consolidation, and negro equality and destruction of individual, political, and State rights.

Let me, then, accept your invitation ; and be pleased to inform the Committee that I will have the pleasure of uniting with said Society in its proceedings.

Very truly your friend,

RICHARD VAUX.

*From James Maurice.*

Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Chairman, etc. :*

MY DEAR SIR—I am honored by your invitation to unite with the Tammany Society in the celebration of the National Anniversary on the Fourth of July instant, and regret that other engagements will deprive me of the pleasure of being present.

The influence of "Old Tammany" in our next State election—an election which will go far to determine the political future of the country—cannot be over-estimated ; and the sentiments so well expressed in your invitation will assuredly receive the approval of the people, and insure the triumph of those nominated to uphold and advance them.

Very truly yours,

JAMES MAURICE.

NEW YORK, *July 2, 1866.*

*From J. Vanderpoel.*

ALBANY, July 2, 1866.

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem, etc.* :

SIR—I regret that my engagements are such as to prevent my accepting the invitation of the Tammany Society, to join with them in their celebration of the approaching anniversary of our National Independence.

I trust that the spirit of reverence for the Constitution and the rights of the States under it, which has ever been entertained by your honorable Society, may be extended through all classes of our people ; so that the bitter conflict from which the nation has just emerged, while it has vindicated the supremacy of the Federal power, may not weaken the bond of Union between the States. The preservation of this Constitution in its integrity should now be the object of all true lovers of the Union.

I am respectfully yours,

J. VANDERPOEL.

*From Francis Kernan.*

UTICA, July 2, 1866.

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN :

DEAR SIR—The invitation of the Tammany Society to take part in its celebration of the approaching Anniversary of our Independence is received. I am gratified and feel complimented by the invitation, and regret that it is not in my power to be present with the members of the Society on the occasion. I cordially concur in the patriotic sentiments as to the Union of the States under the Constitution expressed in the invitation. Please make to the Society my respectful acknowledgments, and believe me to be

Yours truly,

FRANCIS KERNAN.

*From Edwin Croswell.*

NEW YORK, June 30, 1866.

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, HON. JOHN KELLY, and others :

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor to receive your invitation to take part with the Tammany Society in its celebration of the approaching Anniversary of our National Independence.

Believing, with you, that the Union was created to be perpetual ; that the States are equal under the Constitution ; that the restoration of the Union by the recent war ought to be acknowledged and

recognised by all the departments of the Federal Government ; that a spirit of fraternity and magnanimity should prevail in all our councils and policy ; and that the South, having accepted the lessons of the war and relinquished the heresies of secession, should be at once admitted to her constitutional representation—I cordially respond to your invitation, and shall be with you unless my condition of health deprives me of the privilege of participating in the festivities of the occasion.

Very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,  
EDWIN CROSWELL.

*From John K. Hackett.*

ISLIP, L. I., July 4, 1866.

HON. ROBERT C. HUTCHINGS :

DEAR SIR—I have tried to reach New York to-day, but am stopped *en route* by illness.

Permit me to request you to hand the enclosed check for fifty dollars to the treasurer as my contribution, and to further contribute the following sentiment :

The Grand Sachem of the United States, Andrew Johnson—May he soon have at his belt all Radical scalps, leaving them their brains, and before another Fourth of July may he assemble the whole nation around council fires, smoking the pipe of peace.

Very truly yours,  
JOHN K. HACKETT.

*From the Hon. James F. Pierce.*

NEW YORK, July 1, 1866.

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem Tammany Society :*

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation of the Tammany Society to take part in its celebration of the coming Anniversary of our National Independence.

I regret exceedingly that an engagement, previously contracted, will necessitate my absence from the city at that time, and deprive me the pleasure of accepting the same.

At this particular period in our National history, it would afford me more than ordinary satisfaction to join with the patriots of Tammany in celebrating the Anniversary of the day which gave us homes to love, and a country worthy our warmest devotion, as well as to take note of the ancient landmarks.

It is eminently proper that a Society which has always been fore-

most as a defender of Constitutional rights, and an unwavering and staunch supporter of the Union, should at this time take occasion to reassert those principles which have been the groundwork of our National prosperity and greatness, and a strict adherence to which can alone lead us out of the anarchy and confusion of recent events, to a just, a perfect, and an enduring National Independence and Union.

I am, sir, with respect,  
Your obedient servant,  
JAMES F. PIERCE.

*From the Hon. B. F. Delano.*

NAVY YARD, NEW YORK, *June 29, 1866.*

HON. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, *Grand Sachem :*

SIR—Permit me to thank you for the invitation to be present at the celebration of the Tammany Society, to be held on the 4th of July, 1866.

Previous engagements will prevent my personal attendance, but my heart is with all patriotic ceremonies that pertain to the good of our glorious land.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
B. F. DELANO.

Letters were received from several other distinguished gentlemen, but too late for publication.



## APPENDIX.

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*(From the New York Herald, July 5th.)*

### THE TAMMANY SOCIETY.

THE ninetieth anniversary of our national independence was appropriately celebrated yesterday by the Tammany Society. The Grand Council Chamber was tastefully decorated with national flags, and marble busts of Washington, Clay, Jackson, Webster, and Franklin were placed in prominent positions. Bannerets, with the arms of the thirteen original States, patriotic mottoes, and other similar devices, were suspended from the walls. At the back of the rostrum the bust of Washington occupied the post of honor. Draped around the pedestal was a magnificent silk flag, and suspended from the ceiling hung a placard bearing the motto: "One country, one constitution, one destiny," 1776, 1866. Over the bust of Andrew Jackson was the motto—"The Union must and shall be preserved." Above that of Daniel Webster, "Eternal hostility to every form of tyranny," and above Benjamin Franklin's marble likeness were the words, "Civil and religious liberty, the rights of man." Between the busts of Jackson and Webster was hung a large-sized, black-bordered tablet containing the names of the departed braves of the Order.

The exercises commenced at noon with the performance of a number of national and patriotic airs by the Tammany Regiment Band. At one o'clock the sachems, warriors, and chiefs of the order entered the large hall in full regalia, as follows:—Hon. John T. Hoffman, Richard O'Gorman, Edwards Pierrepont, Samuel S. Cox, Samuel G. Courtney, August Belmont, Andrew H. Green, Thomas W. Clerke, Douglas Taylor, Isaac Bell, M. T. Brennan, Edward H. Anderson, Morgan Jones, Joseph B. Nicholson, P. B. Sweeny, Richard B. Connolly, J. R. Brodhead, John J. Bradley, and Eli P. Norton.

Hon. John T. Hoffman and other gentlemen who were to take part in the exercises occupied seats on the platform. The room was well filled with an enthusiastic audience, and the meeting was called to order by Grand Sachem John T. Hoffman, who delivered the following address: [*The proceedings follow.*]

*(From the New York Daily Times.)*

## THE TAMMANY CELEBRATION

Of this day has for years been a prominent part of its public honorings. Of late years it has attracted less attention for obvious reasons, but on this occasion its former prestige was revived, and the popular interest in its doings justifies the following record.

Whatever may have been the character of the Fourth of July demonstrations by the Sachems, Warriors, and Chiefs of Old Tammany in days gone and past, when the Democracy was in what has been called its "palmy days," that of yesterday was certainly a triumph in the way of political and patriotic celebration. The patronly old man of the "Wigwam" did not "show his teeth," but rather spread out his arms after the most evangelical method and said, "Welcome all who take for their guide and director the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States." To begin with, the "Wigwam" was not the rude hut which the title would imply. It was a tastefully decorated hall, comfortably seated, with a platform at one end, after the form of our modern civilization. What would Tammany be without its platform? But we must glance at the ornaments. Against this there is no law. Of the artistic hands which had been tried upon the busts of Washington, Webster, and one or two other historic names, it is hoped that oblivion will be kind to them for their treachery. After looking upon them, the "What-is-it?" in the City Hall Park may be forgiven for assuming to represent any known personage, past or present.

To the right of the platform was the following motto:

*The Democratic Party*—Upon its union and success depend the future of the Republic. He who would seek to lower its standard of patriotism and principle, or to distract or divide its councils, is an enemy to the country."

Over the platform was the following:

"One Country, one Constitution, one Destiny.  
1776 (bust of Washington), 1866."

To the left of the platform was the following:

*The Tammany Society, founded in 1789*.—In its very foundation identified with the establishment of the Union. Ever faithful to its obligations, she has added another proof of her devotion by sending forth her sons to protect and maintain it."

Over the bust of Henry Clay:

"A union of hearts, a union of hands,  
A union of States, none can sever ;  
A union of lakes, a union of lands,  
And the flag of our Union forever."

Over the bust of Jackson :

"The Union must and shall be preserved."

On the centre of the north wall was the following *in memoriam* inscription :

*The Memory of the Departed Braves :*

Shepard,	Clancy,
Vosburg,	Conner,
Froment,	Kennedy,
Purdy,	

Over the bust of Webster :

"Eternal hostility to every form of tyranny."

Over the bust of Franklin :

"Civil and religious liberty, the rights of man."

BANNERS.

Beginning to the left of the room on entering is the State insignia of Massachusetts, then New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, New York, New Jersey.

The ceiling was almost obscured by the profuse display of bunting, which was gracefully hung from the centre of the chandelier, and radiating therefrom to all corners and sides of the hall. The walls were tastefully hung with American flags of all sizes, and the stand was literally a mass of Stars and Stripes.

The whole display was creditable, and Mr. Andrew J. Garvey, of the Committee on Decorations, deserves praise for the good taste observed in the disposition of the gay and festive materials put into his hands for the fitting up of Tammany Hall on this occasion.

The choir for the occasion was constituted of twenty-six boys from several of the Public Schools, whose rendering of the songs, "My Country, 'tis of Thee," and "The Boys come Marching," was a creditable assurance that the musical education of the boys of New York is not by any means neglected in our Common Schools. The singing was under the direction of Prof. Olney.

The Tammany Band was an efficient instrumentality in the celebration, and its members evidently determined not to be overshadowed by the voices of the schoolboys.

At one o'clock the Grand Sachem, preceded by the inevitable Brother Roome, with the rod of power, surmounted by the largest cap of Liberty in New York, escorted the Grand Sachem, Hon. John T. Hoffman, into the "Wigwam," followed by a host of Sachems, Warriors and Chiefs, among whom were observed Hon. Richard O'Gorman, Corporation Counsel, Hon. Edwards Pierrepont, Hon. Samuel S. Cox, Hon. Samuel G. Courtney, August Belmont, Andrew H. Green, Hon. Thomas W. Clerke, Douglas Taylor, Isaac Bell, Hon. M. T. Brennan, Hon. Edward H. Anderson, Hon. Morgan Jones, James B. Nicholson, P. B. Sweeny, Hon. Richard B. Connolly, J. R. Brodhead, John J. Bradley, Eli P. Norton.

After the Sachems, etc., had been comfortably seated around the fire, the Grand Sachem, Hon. John T. Hoffman, rose in their midst, and, looking round upon all, said: [*The proceedings follow.*]

*(From the New York Daily News.)*

#### TAMMANY SOCIETY CELEBRATION.

The celebration of our national anniversary at Tammany Hall, yesterday, under the auspices of Tammany Society, equalled any festivity of the kind that was ever held within the walls of the "old Wigwam." The large hall where the exercises were held was most tastefully and appropriately decorated. The back of the hall was covered with a large national flag, which was flanked on each side by a smaller one, pendant from the corners. Small flags were also transversely placed on each panel of the walls, on every other one of which was displayed an escutcheon of one of the original States—thirteen in all. Extending from the chandeliers in the four corners of the wigwam, and meeting in the centre of the ceiling, were streamers of red, white and blue; while to the centre chandelier were attached six national flags, pendant. On the right-hand side of the wigwam were placed, at equal distances, life-size busts of Franklin, Webster, Jackson, and Clay. Immediately behind the Grand Sachem's (Mayor Hoffman's) seat, was placed a bust of Washington, draped on either side with the American flag.

On the right-hand side of the Grand Sachem's seat was the following motto:

*The Democratic Party*—Upon its union and success depend the future of the Republic. He who would seek to lower its standard of patriotism and principle, or to distract or divide its councils, is an enemy to the country."

Immediately over the seat of the Grand Sachem, and behind the bust of Washington, was the following :

"One Country, one Constitution, one Destiny.  
1776 (bust of Washington), 1866."

On the left of the Grand Sachem was the following motto :

"*The Tammany Society, founded in 1789.*—In its very foundation identified with the establishment of the Union. Ever faithful to its obligations, she has added another proof of her devotion by sending forth her sons to protect and maintain it."

"The Union must and shall be preserved."

*To the Memory of the Departed Braves :*

Shepard,	Clancy,
Vosburg,	Conner,
Froment,	Kennedy,
Purdy.	

"Eternal hostility to every form of tyranny."

"Civil and religious liberty, the rights of man."

"A union of hearts, a union of hands,  
A union of States none can sever;  
A union of lakes, a union of lands,  
And the flag of our Union forever."

A very large assemblage filled the hall long before the advertised hour for the commencement of the exercises. The Tammany band, seated on the balcony, performed several national airs previous to the commencement of the exercises. At one o'clock precisely the sachems, chiefs, and warriors marched into the wigwam, headed by His Honor Mayor Hoffman, Grand Sachem, and the Hon. Richard O'Gorman, orator of the day. Following these, each bearing the scarf and badge of old Tammany, were the Hon. ex-Judge Pierrepont, Hon. S. S. Cox, Hon. Samuel G. Courtney, August Belmont, Andrew H. Green, Judge Thomas W. Clerke, Douglas Taylor, Isaac Bell, Matthew T. Brennan, City Controller, Hon. Edward H. Anderson, Hon. Morgan Jones, Hon. James B. Nicholson, Hon. John Kelly, Sheriff of the County of New York, Peter B. Sweeny, Richard B. Connolly, J. R. Brodhead, John J. Bradley, Hon. Eli P. Norton, and other members of the Tammany Society. These having taken their positions on the rostrum, the band on the balcony struck up the "Star-Spangled Banner," after which the regular exercises were opened by the Grand Sachem, His Honor Mayor Hoffman. [*The proceedings follow.*]

*(From the New York World.)*

## THE TAMMANY CELEBRATION.

ADDRESSES BY GRAND SACHEM HOFFMAN, RICHARD O'GORMAN,  
EDWARDS PIERREPONT, AND HON. S. S. COX—LETTERS FROM  
THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET.

The Tammany Society, according to its time-honored and patriotic custom, yesterday celebrated the Anniversary of Independence at Tammany Hall by interesting and appropriate exercises. The doors were opened at twelve o'clock, and the Tammany Regiment band performed national airs on the balcony until one o'clock—the time of the commencement of the exercises. A very large and respectable audience assembled, who listened with enthusiasm to the speeches, readings, and singing.

The hall was splendidly decorated with flags and banners. The platform was draped with a magnificent American flag, and above it was a bust of Washington, with the motto: "One Country, one Constitution, one Destiny. 1776—1866."

At one side of the platform was the motto: "The Tammany Society, founded in 1789. In its very foundation identified with the establishment of the Union; ever faithful to her obligations, she has added another proof of her devotion by sending forth her sons to protect and maintain it."

At the other side was the motto: "The Democratic party—Upon its union and success depend the future of the Republic. He who would seek to lower its standard of patriotism and principle, or to divide or distract its councils, is an enemy to the country."

Busts of Henry Clay, Jackson, Webster, and Franklin occupied the right side of the room, as also the mottoes:

"A union of hearts, a union of hands,  
A union of States none can sever;  
A union of lakes, a union of lands,  
And the flag of our Union forever."

"The Union must and shall be preserved," over the bust of Jackson; "Eternal hostility to every form of tyranny," over the bust of Webster; and "Civil and religious liberty, the rights of man," over the bust of Franklin.

In the centre of the right side was a banner embroidered with black, reading as follows:

*The Memory of the Departed Braves :*

Shepard,  
Vosburg,  
Froment,

Clancy,  
Conner,  
Kennedy,  
Purdy.

The coats-of-arms of each of the original thirteen States were also hung in appropriate position.

At one o'clock the officers of the society and guests entered the hall two by two, with the appropriate badges, Hon. John T. Hoffman, Grand Sachem, and Hon. Richard O'Gorman, the Orator of the Day, leading. Among the other gentlemen who then entered were Edwards Pierrepont, Samuel G. Courtney, Samuel S. Cox, August Belmont, John Kelly, Andrew H. Green, Thomas W. Clerke, Douglas Taylor, Isaac Bell, M. T. Brennan, Edward H. Anderson, Morgan Jones, James B. Nicholson, Peter B. Sweeny, Richard B. Connolly, J. R. Brodhead, John J. Bradley, Eli P. Norton, and others. These gentlemen took their seats on the platform. [*The proceedings follow.*]

*(From the New York Leader.)*

THE FOURTH AT OLD TAMMANY.

The celebration of the glorious Fourth in this city was unexpectedly brilliant. Thanks to the Mayor and the Comptroller, fireworks were provided for all the public Parks, although the weather prevented them from being displayed except at Tompkins Square. There was a fine parade of military in the morning, and all day long the citizens thronged the streets and enjoyed themselves heartily and patriotically. Fortunately, few accidents marred the public pleasure, and, on the whole, the Fourth of July, 1866, was an occasion to be long remembered.

It is conceded by all parties, and by the unanimous press, however, that the great feature of the celebration was the grand meeting at Tammany Hall, under the auspices of the venerable Tammany Society. The Old Wigwam was in all its glory. The chiefs and warriors felt that the eyes of the whole country were upon them as they sat around the council fire, and that every ear was open to their words of wisdom and of peace. There was no other attempt at a national celebration in any part of the land, and, as the letters which we shall shortly introduce clearly show, all our leading statesmen regarded the Tammany gathering as designed for the whole country—as, in fact, it was.

The Wigwam, hallowed by so many noble memories, was most appropriately decorated upon this remarkable anniversary. To the Committee who had charge of this matter, and especially to Messrs. Nathaniel Jarvis, Jr., Andrew J. Garvey, James Watson, and James B. Nicholson, the thanks of the Society and all who participated are gratefully due. These gentlemen, with Mayor Hoffman and the other members of the Committee, organized a success. They took care that not a single detail, however slight, was neglected, and exercised a careful supervision over every part of the celebration from first to last. The result was a national festival unparalleled even in the history of Old Tammany, although there have been so many glorious festivals the records of which grace her annals. Never before was everything so perfect, complete, and satisfactory.

The doors of Tammany Hall were opened precisely at noon, and the Tammany band performed patriotic airs from the balcony until one o'clock. Early comers had leisure, therefore, to examine the decorations minutely. The platform was draped with the American flag. Above it was a bust of Washington, with the almost sacred motto: "One Country, one Constitution, one Destiny. 1776—1866." At one side of the platform was the motto: "The Tammany Society, founded in 1789. In its very foundation identified with the establishment of the Union. Ever faithful to its obligations, she has added another proof of her devotion by sending forth her sons to protect and maintain it." At the other side was the motto: "The Democratic party—Upon its union and success depend the future of the Republic. He who would seek to lower its standard of patriotism and principle, or to divide or distract its counsels, is an enemy to the country." Busts of Jackson, Clay, Webster, and Benjamin Franklin ornamented the right of the room, with the mottoes: "The Union must and shall be preserved," "Eternal hostility to every form of tyranny," and "Civil and Religious Liberty, the rights of man." The coats-of-arms of the original thirteen States adorned the walls. A verse from the "Flag of our Union" reminded the audience of the brotherhood of hearts and hands, as well as of States. In a conspicuous position hung a solemn banner, embroidered with black and inscribed:

<i>To the Memory of the Departed Braves:</i>	
Shepard,	Clancy,
Vosburg,	Conner,
Froment,	Kennedy,
Purdy.	

At one o'clock the officers and orators of the Society entered the

Hall amid general applause. Mayor Hoffman and Hon. Richard O'Gorman led the procession, and following them we noticed Edwards Pierrepont, Samuel G. Courtney, Samuel S. Cox, August Belmont, John Kelly, Andrew H. Green, Thomas W. Clerke, Andrew J. Garvey, Isaac Bell, M. T. Brennan, Edward H. Anderson, Morgan Jones, James B. Nicholson, Peter B. Sweeny, Richard B. Connolly, J. R. Brodhead, John J. Bradley, Eli P. Norton, and others, all wearing the appropriate scarfs and badges of Old Tammany. These warriors and sachems with their guests having taken seats upon the platform, his Honor Mayor Hoffman, Grand Sachem, welcomed the assemblage to the Wigwam in a speech so eloquent, so cordial, and so unlike the ordinary set phrases of such occasions, that the audience were roused to genuine enthusiasm. Twenty-four boys from our public schools, led by the celebrated Professor Olney, sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" in a style which was universally applauded. The Hon. Edward H. Anderson next read the Declaration of Independence in a clear, manly voice, expressive of the tone and sentiments of this great charter of our liberties, and applause greeted every sentence as it fell from the lips of the reader. "My Country, 'tis of Thee," was sung by the school-boys; Mr. Henry Morford recited his poem, "England and America," written especially for the celebration, and then Assistant District-Attorney Robert C. Hutchings read selections from the following very important and able letters, for which, in spite of their length, we ask an unusually careful perusal. [*The letters follow.*]

The various patriotic points in these letters, and particularly those which recognise the nationality of the Tammany Society and its practical devotion to the Union, were received with enthusiastic cheers. In these letters from the great men of the Republic will be found the best answer to the malignant partisan slanders against the Society published in yesterday's *Tribune*. When Mr. Hutchings had finished reading them, the Hon. Richard O'Gorman, Corporation Counsel, was formally introduced to the audience, who already knew and admired him. In a speech of unsurpassed beauty and eloquence, delivered with all the graces of the best school of oratory, and with all the fervor of a true Democrat, Mr. O'Gorman revived the legends of the Society, reviewed the history of the war, and dwelt upon the duty of all genuine patriots during this Northern Rebellion, which has succeeded that of the South. Certainly, in all Mr. O'Gorman's long public career he has never equalled this Fourth of July oration, which was as far removed from the common routine of stump speeches as the whole celebration excelled the ordinary Fourth of July cere-

monies. His glowing sentences were emphasized by frequent outbreaks of patriotism, and as he concluded with a peroration as ornate as the jewelled sky on a midsummer's night, the audience rose and cheered him with a spirit that rocked the cradle of Democracy to its very centre. The Hon. S. S. Cox and Judge Edwards Pierrepont—the latter of whom nominated Mayor Hoffman for our next Governor, amid unanimous applause—followed in capital but brief speeches, and the meeting then adjourned, the chiefs and sachems remaining to partake of a sumptuous banquet, and to drink the healthful waters of the great spring.

As a whole, taking the attendance, the decorations, the enthusiasm, the songs, the poem, the speeches, and the letters, it is conceded that this was the finest celebration ever held by the Tammany Society. It will be long remembered by all who were present, and our children and our children's children will speak of it as unprecedented, and will strive to rival it upon future anniversaries of our National Independence. Compared with it no political convention, composed of the odds and ends of ruined and corrupt parties, can exert any influence over the masses of the people. It truly represented the popular sentiment, and by hundreds of letters which reach Mayor Hoffman, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, by every mail, it is most cordially indorsed as a real National Convention, and as such it will be regarded wherever its utterances are heard or read. The leading daily press of this city, and, indeed, of the whole country, showed their appreciation of its importance by their remarkably full and complete reports, and we need make no apology for surrendering so much of our space this week to a sketch of an occasion so fraught with interest to every reader.



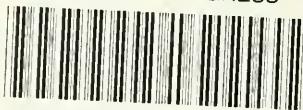








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